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ABSTRACT

This paper presents a study of Yanyula nouns and noun modifiers. Yanyula is the language spoken in parts of the Northern Territory and Queensland in Australia. In relation to noun modifiers, the paper discusses adjectives and numerals, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, prefix allomorphs, and noun modifier occurrence in noun phrases. Regarding nouns, the linguistic (semantic, grammatical, phonological) and anthropological aspects of development and current usage are discussed and a complex noun classification system is outlined. (DD)

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by

Jean F. Kirton

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YANYULA NOUN MODIFIERS

Jean F. Kirton

0. Introduction

1. Noun Modifiers
   1.1 Adjectives and Numerals
   1.2 Demonstrative and Possessive Pronouns
   1.3 Allotive Specifier
   1.4 Prefix Allomorphs Used by a Male Speaker

2. Noun Modifier Occurrence in Noun Phrases

0. INTRODUCTION

In Yanyula, adjectives, numerals, demonstrative and possessive pronouns, and allotive specifier occur as noun modifiers. All of these agree with the nouns they modify in class, number, and tagmeme-marking, but they do not all take identical affixation to do so. Noun modifiers occur alone, or they co-occur with nouns and/or other modifiers, to form noun phrases.

1. NOUN MODIFIERS

Noun modifiers are described as including 1) adjectives and numerals, 2) demonstrative and possessive pronouns, and 3) the allotive specifier. These three types of modifiers all agree with the noun they modify in class, number, and tagmeme-marking, but there is variant affixation for each type.

1.1 *ADJECTIVES AND NUMERALS*

The stems of adjectives and numerals take the same class-marking prefix sets and tagmeme-marking suffix sets as those which occur with Type 1 nouns. Adjectives and numerals are distinguished from nouns,

however, in that 1) they occur without class-marking prefixation in a Manner tagmeme where nouns do not occur, 2) the stems may occur with class-marking prefixes from every Type I class list. While nouns may sometimes occur in more than one list, they remain in either the personal or nonpersonal subtypes, but noun modifiers have no such restriction.

Adjective stems include the following:

yabi *nice, good, pretty, kind,* waḍi *bad, naughty, unpleasant,* wugudu *short,* djumajŋjgařa *tall, long,* walguřa *big,* buyi *small,* wuřiři *big, fullgrown,* yumbu *small, young,* bululu *light (in weight),* wunuŋu *heavy,* ḍiyaŋu *new,* bunalgařa *white,* wuŋguwuŋgu *black,* wunu̲nu̲ *ripe, cooked,* mawungu *raw, green (of fruit),* wiṇḍajgu *hungry,* wařgi *greedy,* muḍu/yagayaga *deaf, stupid, mentally ill,* liŋi *intelligent, keen of hearing,* mandalmandal *soft,* wayařwayař *hard, tough, strong,* maḍu *cold,* wunda *warm, harmless, nonvenomous,* ladalada *hot, harmful, venomous, wild,* ŋařa *warm, hot*

Numeral stems are:

ařgula *one,* ganjmaḍa *two,* gulařgulař *a few,* djagaḍa *many*

The stems yabi *good, nice,* and ařgula *one,* are listed below occurring with each Type I class-marker.

Classes 1 Female and 3 Feminine	řa-yabi	řa-ařgula
Class 2 Male	nja-yabi	nja-ařgula
Class 4 Masculine	yabi	ařgula
Class 5 Food	ma-yabi	ma-ařgula
Class 6 Arboreal	na-yabi	na-ařgula
Class 7 Abstract	naṇu-yabi	naṇuw-ařgula

Adjectives also take the personal dual and plural prefixes. The numeral ganjmaḍa *two* occurs with the dual prefix, and the stems gulařgulař *few* and djagaḍa *many* occur with the plural prefix.

Dual	ři-yabi (d-*good*)	ři-ganjmaḍa (d-*two*)
Plural	li-yabi (pl-*good*)	li-gulařgulař (pl-*few*)
		li-djagaḍa (pl-*many*)

The nonpersonal classes, classes 3-7, do not distinguish between singular and nonsingular by use of dual or plural prefixes, but number may be indicated by use of the relevant class-marker prefixed to a numeral. Singular, dual, and plural of personal and nonpersonal items will be illustrated below using numeral stems and referring to a personal male item in the first column and a nonpersonal food class item in the second.

s	nja-ařgula (m-*one*)	ma-ařgula (fd-*one*)
d	ri-ganjmaḍa (d-*two*)	ma-ganjmaḍa (fd-*two*)
pl	li-gulařgulař (pl-*few*)	ma-gulařgulař (fd-*few*)
	li-djagaḍa (pl-*many*)	ma-djagaḍa (fd-*many*)

Both adjectives and numerals take tagmeme-marking suffixes and tagmeme-marking prefix sets in precisely the same way as the nouns they modify.

Polysyllabic stems, with the exception of la-, lu-, and li-final stems, occur with set 1 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	li-wuřiři (pl-*big*)	na-ganjmaḍa (arb-*two*)
Ref	liyi-wuřiři-yu	nu-ganjmaḍa-wu
Dir	linjdji-wuřiři-lu	nuŋgu-ganjmaḍa-lu
Acc	linjdji-wuřiři-la	nuŋgu-ganjmaḍa-la

Polysyllabic la- and lu-final stems and disyllabic a- and u-final stems occur with set 2 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	ařgula (masc-*one*)	řa-muḍu (f-*deaf*)
Ref	djiy-ařgula-wu	řu-muḍu-wu
Dir	djiy-ařgula-ŋgu	řu-muḍu-ŋgu
Acc	djiy-ařgula-ŋga	řu-muḍu-ŋga

Polysyllabic li-final stems and disyllabic i-final stems occur with set 3 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	ři-waḍi (d-*bad*)	naṇu-yabi (abstr-*good*)
Ref	řiyi-waḍi-yu	nuwaṇu-yabi-yu
Dir	řinjdji-waḍi-njdju	nuŋgaṇu-yabi-njdju
Acc	řinjdji-waḍi-njdja	nuŋgaṇu-yabi-njdja

Consonant-final stems are infrequent among adjectives and numerals. The few ř- and l-final stems take set 5 tagmeme-marking suffixes.

Nuc	řa-gulařgulař (fem-*few*)	ma-mandalmandal (fd-*soft*)
Ref	řu-gulařgulař-u	mu-mandalmandal-u
Dir	řu-gulařgulař-u	muŋgu-mandalmandal-u
Acc	řu-gulařgulař-a	muŋgu-mandalmandal-a

Adjective stems also occur with the morphologically-defined allomorphs of sets 8 and 9:

Nuc	ŋařa (masc-*warm*)	řa-buyi (f/fem-*small*)
Ref	dji-ŋařa-ngu	řu-buyi-ŋgu
Dir	dji-ŋařa-ndu	řu-buyi-nju
Acc	dji-ŋařa-nda	řu-buyi-nja

In the same way that certain nouns may optionally take an irregular variant suffix for directive and accessory marking, certain adjectives may also. These are listed below with the regular directive suffix and the variant directive suffix respectively, in brackets following the stem:

ladalada (-lu/-ŋgu) *hot*, walguřa (-lu/-ŋgu) *big*, wuřiři (-lu/-njdju) *big, fullgrown*

Nuc	walguřa (masc-*big*)	wuřiři (masc-*big*)
Dir	dji-walguřa-lu	dji-wuřiři-lu
	/ dji-walguřa-ŋgu	/ dji-wuřiři-njdju

The numeral ganjmaḍa *two*, and adjective stems also take the animate dual suffix -wudjaṛa in agreement with the noun they modify. Any stem which takes set 9 tagmeme-marking suffixes takes the variant from -ŋgudjaṛa.

ganjmaḍa-wudjaṛa *two (animate beings)*, walguřa-wudjaṛa *two big (animate beings)*, waḍi-wudjaṛa *two bad (animate beings)*, buyi-ŋgudjaṛa *two small (animate beings)*

1.2 *DEMONSTRATIVE AND POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS*

The stems of demonstrative and possessive pronouns occur with class-marking prefixes in agreement with the nouns which they modify. Neither of these pronoun types takes tagmeme-marking suffixes, and therefore the class-marking prefix sets may make more distinctions than those of the nouns which they modify.

1.2.1 Demonstrative Pronouns

The demonstrative pronoun stems are -dja *this*, -maŋadji *that (specific)*,-mbaŋu *that (nonspecific)*. In the masculine class, class 4, -dja has the variant djina in Nuclear occurrence only. The stems are listed below with the various class-markers as they occur in Nuclear tagmemes.

Classes 1 & 3	řa-dja	řa-maŋadji	řa-mbaŋu
	/ a-dja	/ a-maŋadji	/ a-mbaŋu
Class 2	nja-dja	nja-maŋadji	nja-mbaŋu
Class 4	djina	nja-maŋadji	nja-mbaŋu
Class 5	ma-dja	ma-maŋadji	ma-mbaŋu
Class 6	na-dja	na-maŋadji	na-mbaŋu
Class 7	naŋu-dja	naŋu-maŋadji	naŋu-mbaŋu
Dual	ři-dja	ři-maŋadji	ři-mbaŋu
Plural	li-dja	li-maŋadji	li-mbaŋu

The above prefixes are identical with those of the respective nouns with which the demonstrative pronouns agree, with the exception of class 4. The masculine demonstrative *this* has the variant stem djina in Nuclear occurrence only. The remaining two demonstrative stems occur with the same prefix as the male class 2 in the Nuclear occurrence, but class distinction is maintained in non-Nuclear tagmemes.

Demonstrative prefixes of all classes distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory tagmemes, however, it is rare to find the stem -mbaŋu with any other than nuclear prefixes. A single occurrence is recorded of linjdji-mbaŋu (pl:dir/acc-*that:nonspecific*) *to/with those people (that we do not really know about)*. The demonstrative class-marking prefix sets listed below with the stem -maŋadji *that (specific)* normally only occur with -dja *this* and -maŋadji in non-Nuclear tagmemes.

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
Classes 1 and 3	řa-maŋadji	řuwu-maŋadji	řuŋgu-maŋadji
	/ a-maŋadji	/ wuwu-maŋadji	/ wuŋgu-maŋadji
Class 2	nja-maŋadji	njuwu-maŋadji	njuŋgu-maŋadji
Class 4	nja-maŋadji	yi-maŋadji	djiŋgu-maŋadji
Class 5	ma-maŋadji	muwu-maŋadji	muŋgu-maŋadji
Class 6	na-maŋadji	nuwu-maŋadji	nuŋgu-maŋadji

Class 7	naṇu-maŋadji	nuwaṇu-maŋadji	nuŋgaṇu-maŋadji
Dual	ř̆i-maŋadji	ř̆iyi-maŋadji	ř̆injdji-maŋadji
Plural	li-maŋadji	liyi-maŋadji	linjdji-maŋadji

The masculine class takes up the regular stem -dja for non-Nuclear occurrence, and takes distinguishing prefixes for Referent and Directive/Accessory.

The stem -maŋadji is the only demonstrative pronoun to take an alternative prefix set. This set is found in Nuclear tagmemes only. It is formed from the respective nuclear prefix minus the final vowel plus ulu for classes 1-7 or ili in place of the final vowel for dual and plural. The meaning of the resultant demonstrative is *that same one*.

Classes 1 & 3	ř̆ulu-maŋadji
Classes 2 & 4	njulu-maŋadji
Class 5	mulu-maŋadji
Class 6	nulu-maŋadji
Class 7	naṇulu-maŋadji
Dual	ř̆ili-maŋadji
Plural	lili-maŋadji

1.2.2 Possessive Pronouns

When possessive pronouns occur as noun modifiers they take the same class-marking prefixes as the three demonstrative pronouns described above or allomorphs of those prefixes.

The singular stems yingu *your*, angu *her*, yigu *his*, all occur with the suffix -ŋu[1] in Nuclear tagmemes.

The prefix sets listed in 1.2.1 above have certain variants when they occur with possessive pronouns. All prefixes lose the final vowel when preceding a vowel-initial stem, and such stems include the y-initial pronouns which lose the initial semi-vowel when they are prefixed. The masculine class 4 referent prefix has the variant form dji- which occurs with free pronouns.

Examples of the possessive pronoun set are listed as they occur with the masculine prefix nja- in Nuclear occurrence:

1 s	nja-ŋaḏa	2 pl	nj-iřuŋa
1 d excl	nja-ŋaḏařaŋa	3 f s	nj-angu-ŋu
1 d incl	nja-ŋaliŋa	3 m s	nj-igu-ŋu
1 pl excl	nja-ŋanuŋa	3 d	nja-wulaŋa
1 pl incl	nja-ŋambalaŋa	3 pl	nj-aluŋa
2 s	nj-ingu-ŋu	3 fem s,d,pl	nj-angu-ŋu
2 d	nj-imbalaŋa	3 masc s,d,pl	nj-ayu

Examples of possessive pronouns are given below as they occur with tagmeme-marking prefix sets:

Nuc	l-igu-ŋu (pl-*his-rel*)	nja-ŋaḏa (m-*my*)
Ref	liy-igu	nju-ŋaḏa
Dir/Acc	linjdj-igu	njuŋgu-ŋaḏa
Nuc	nj-angu-ŋu (masc-*her-rel*)	naṇ-aluŋa (abstr-*their:*pl)
Ref	dj-angu	nuwaṇ-aluŋa
Dir/Acc	djiŋg-angu	nuŋgaṇ-aluŋa

1.3 *ALLOTIVE SPECIFIER*

The allotive specifier **ařgu** *other, different, some* (or as in comparison: **ařgu ... ařgu** *one ... another, some ... some others*), is different from other noun modifiers in two respects. This stem takes two sets of prefixes, and it takes a referent suffix which has occurrence unique to this stem.

Third person prefixes of sets I and II occur with **ařgu**. Set I is closely related in form to the demonstrative pronoun prefix set as it occurs with **-maŋadji** *that (specific)*, but with loss of the final vowel from each prefix. This loss of vowel causes loss of distinction between the female/feminine prefix **řa-** and the dual prefix **ři-** in Nuclear occurrence. To retain the distinction the dual suffix **-wudjaŗa** always co-occurs with the dual prefix in Nuclear tagmemes. Set II is closely related in form to body-part possessive prefixes of Type II nouns with the following modifications: 1) the final vowel is lost from the female, male, and arboreal prefixes; 2) the consonants l and w are added to masculine and food prefixes respectively; 3) dual and plural prefixes occur. Rules 1)-3) also apply to non-Nuclear prefixation. The two prefix sets are listed below with the stem in Nuclear occurrence.

	Set I	Set II
3 s f/3 fem	ř-ařgu	nand-ařgu
3 s m	nj-ařgu	niw-ařgu
3 masc	nj-ařgu	niḻ-ařgu
3 fd	m-ařgu	nuw-ařgu
3 arb	n-ařgu	nan-ařgu
3 abstr	naṇ-ařgu	-
3 d	ř-ařgu-wudjaṛa	nawul-ařgu
3 pl	l-ařgu	nal-ařgu

The choice of prefix from set I or set II is determined by whether contrast or comparison is intended, and by whether the item under review is unfamiliar or known and familiar, whether it comes from some outside source or belongs. Set I prefixes are used where the contrast is to be highlighted, and with items which are unfamiliar or from an outside source. Set II prefixes are used in comparison, and with items which are familiar or part of a known whole.[2]

Prefixes of both sets I and II distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory. Rules previously stated for nuclear prefix occurrence with ařgu apply to the non-nuclear also, but with two exceptions in set I. In Referent occurrence the masculine and abstract prefixes are dj- and nuwaṇuw- respectively. The only[3] suffix which occurs is the referent suffix -lu which has unique occurrence with this stem.

The following are the affixed forms of ařgu as it occurs with set I prefixes in the various tagmemes:

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
3 s f/3 fem	ř-ařgu	řuw-ařgu-lu	řuŋg-ařgu
	/ ařgu	/ wuw-ařgu-lu	/ wuŋg-ařgu
3 s m	nj-ařgu	njuw-ařgu-lu	njuŋg-ařgu
3 masc	nj-ařgu	dj-ařgu-lu	djiŋg-ařgu
3 fd	m-ařgu	muw-ařgu-lu	muŋg-ařgu
3 arb	n-ařgu	nuw-ařgu-lu	nuŋg-ařgu
3 abstr	naṇ-ařgu	nuwaṇuw-ařgu-lu	nuŋgaṇ-ařgu
3 d	ř-ařgu-wudjaṛa	řiy-ařgu-lu	řinjdj-ařgu
3 pl	l-ařgu	liy-ařgu-lu	linjdj-ařgu

The following are the affixed forms of ařgu as it occurs with set II prefixes in the various tagmemes:

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
3 s f/3 fem	nand-ařgu	nuwand-ařgu-lu	nuŋgand-ařgu
3 s m	niw-ařgu	niyiw-ařgu-lu	niŋgiw-ařgu
3 masc	niḷ-ařgu	niyiḷ-ařgu-lu	niŋgiḷ-ařgu
3 fd	nuw-ařgu	nuwuw-ařgu-lu	nuŋguw-ařgu
3 arb	nan-ařgu	nuwan-ařgu-lu	nuŋgan-ařgu
3 d	nawul-ařgu	nuwawul-ařgu-lu	nuŋgawul-ařgu
3 pl	nal-ařgu	nuwal-ařgu-lu	nuŋgal-ařgu

1.4 *PREFIX ALLOMORPHS USED BY A MALE SPEAKER*

There are variants in noun modifier prefixes for men speakers for male and masculine classes 2 and 4 as there are in noun prefixes. In all instances prefixation for the two classes is identical.

1.4.1 Adjectives and Numerals

Adjectives and numeral prefixes occur in precisely the same form as with nouns. Both classes 2 and 4 take ∅ (Nuclear), and gi- (non-Nuclear). In the examples listed below, the forms used by a male speaker will be shown in comparison with those used by a female speaker for the same two classes.

Nuc	M yabi (m/masc-*good*)	F nja-yabi (m-*good*)	F yabi (masc-*good*)
Ref	gi-yabi-yu	nju-yabi-yu	dji-yabi-yu
Dir	gi-yabi-njdju	nju-yabi-njdju	dji-yabi-njdju
Acc	gi-yabi-njdja	nju-yabi-njdja	dji-yabi-njdja

1.4.2 Demonstrative and Possessive Pronouns

Demonstrative occurrence for classes 2 and 4 is as for the masculine class in women's speech. The near demonstrative *this* is: djina (Nuclear), njuwu-dja (Referent), njuŋgu-dja (Directive/Accessory). Both -maŋadji *that (specific)* and -mbaŋu *that (nonspecific)* take the prefixes nja- (Nuclear), nju- (Referent), njuŋgu- (Directive/Accessory).

The possessive pronoun for classes 2 and 4 is yigu, which occurs as the male class 2 pronoun in women's speech. The class-marking prefixes which indicate both classes 2 and 4 are the same as for the

demonstrative pronouns -maŋadji and -mbaŋu as described in the preceding paragraph.

1.4.3 Allotive Specifier

The allotive specifier **ařgu** *other* takes identical prefixes for classes 2 and 4 in both sets I and II, and in each instance the prefix is the same as that of male class 2 in women's speech: **nj-ařgu** (Nuclear), **njuw-ařgu-lu** (Referent), **njuŋg-ařgu** (Directive/Accessory) in set I, and **niw-ařgu** (Nuclear), **niyiw-ařgu-lu** (Referent), **niŋgiw-ařgu** (Directive/Accessory) in set II.

2. NOUN MODIFIER OCCURRENCE IN NOUN PHRASES

Adjectives, numerals, demonstrative or possessive pronouns, and allotive specifier may all co-occur with each other and/or with nouns to form noun phrases. There is no rigid order of word occurrence in such phrases, but the following is the preferred order:

±demonstrative ± ařgu ±numeral/adjective/possessive ±noun

Rule: Demonstrative and possessive pronouns do not occur together.

There is obligatory occurrence of one of these words and frequently two occur. These are a few phrases of this type consisting of three words, but no examples of phrases with more than three words.

In such phrases there is agreement in class and number of the prefix on each word, and with animate dual suffixation where this occurs. There is also agreement in tagmeme-marking in prefixation, and in suffixation for all suffixing stems.

Nuc	**ŕa-dja**	**ŕa-aḍu** (f-*this* f-*child*) *this girl*
Ref	**ŕuwu-dja**	**ŕuw-aḍu-wu**
Dir	**ŕuŋgu-dja**	**ŕuw-aḍu-ŋgu**
Acc	**ŕuŋgu-dja**	**ŕuw-aḍu-ŋga**

Nuc	**li-maŋadji**	**li-wulu** (pl-*that* pl-*people*) *those people*
Ref	**liyi-maŋadji**	**liyi-wulu-wu**
Dir	**linjdji-maŋadji**	**linjdji-wulu-ŋgu**
Acc	**linjdji-maŋadji**	**linjdji-wulu-ŋga**

Nuc F nj-ařgu awaŗa (masc-*other* masc-*country*)
another country
Ref dj-ařgu-lu djiy-awaŗa-wu
Dir djiŋg-ařgu djiy-awaŗa-lu
Acc djiŋg-ařgu djiy-awaŗa-la

Nuc M nj-ařgu awaŗa (masc-*other* masc-*country*)
another country
Ref njuw-ařgu-lu giy-awaŗa-wu
Dir njuŋg-ařgu giy-awaŗa-lu
Acc njuŋg-ařgu giy-awaŗa-la

Nuc F nja-ařgula nja-miṇiŋiya (m-*one* m-*man*) *one man*
Ref njuw-ařgula-wu nju-miṇiŋiya-wu
Dir njuw-ařgula-ŋgu nju-miṇiŋiya-lu
Acc njuw-ařgula-ŋga nju-miṇiŋiya-la

Nuc M ařgula miṇiŋiya (m-*one* m-*man*) *one man*
Ref giy-ařgula-wu gi-miṇiŋiya-wu
Dir giy-ařgula-ŋgu gi-miṇiŋiya-lu
Acc giy-ařgula-ŋga gi-miṇiŋiya-la

Nuc na-yabi na-wulaŋi (arb-*good* arb-*river*)
a good river
Ref nu-yabi-yu nu-wulaŋi-ngu
Dir nuŋgu-yabi-njdju nuŋgu-wulaŋi-ndu
Acc nuŋgu-yabi-njdja nuŋgu-wulaŋi-nda

Nuc F nja-ŋaḏa l̲ulun (masc-*my* masc-*bed*) *my bed*
Ref dji-ŋaḏa dji-l̲ulun-gu
Dir djiŋgu-ŋaḏa dji-l̲ulun-du
Acc djiŋgu-ŋaḏa dji-l̲ulun-da

Nuc M nja-ŋaḏa l̲ulun (masc-*my* masc-*bed*) *my bed*
Ref nju-ŋaḏa gi-l̲ulun-gu
Dir njuŋgu-ŋaḏa gi-l̲ulun-du
Acc njuŋgu-ŋaḏa gi-l̲ulun-da

Nuc ř̆a-mbaŋu ř̆-ařgu (f-*that:nonspecific* f-*other*)
that other one (f)

Ref ř̆uwu-mbaŋu ř̆uw-ařgu-lu

Dir/Acc ř̆uŋgu-mbaŋu ř̆uŋg-ařgu

Nuc F nja-maŋadji ḍiyaŋu (masc-*that* masc-*new*)
that new one

Ref yi-maŋadji dji-ḍiyaŋu-wu

Dir djiŋgu-maŋadji dji-ḍiyaŋu-lu

Acc djiŋgu-maŋadji dji-ḍiyaŋu-la

Nuc M nja-maŋadji ḍiyaŋu (masc-*that* masc-*new*)
that new one

Ref nju-maŋadji gi-ḍiyaŋu-wu

Dir njuŋgu-maŋadji gi-ḍiyaŋu-lu

Acc njuŋgu-maŋadji gi-ḍiyaŋu-la

Nuc F nil̲-ařgu walja (masc-*other* masc-*dugong*)
another dugong

Ref niyil̲-ařgu-lu dji-walja-wu

Dir niŋgil̲-ařgu dji-walja-ŋgu

Acc niŋgil̲-ařgu dji-walja-ŋga

Nuc M niw-ařgu walja (masc-*other* masc-*dugong*)
another dugong

Ref niyiw-ařgu-lu gi-walja-wu

Dir niŋgiw-ařgu gi-walja-ŋgu

Acc niŋgiw-ařgu gi-walja-ŋga

Nuc li-maŋadji li-djagaḍa li-wulu (pl-*that* pl-*many* pl-*people*) *those many people*

Ref liyi-maŋadji liyi-djagaḍa-wu liyi-wulu-wu

Dir linjdji-maŋadji linjdji-djagaḍa-lu linjdji-wulu-ŋgu

Acc linjdji-maŋadji linjdji-djagaḍa-la linjdji-wulu-ŋga

Nuc F djina nj-ařgu djaɲjga (masc:*this* masc-*other* masc-*rock*) *this different rock*

Ref yi-dja dj-ařgu-lu dji-djaɲjga-wu

Dir djiŋgu-dja djiŋg-ařgu dji-djaɲjga-wu

Acc djiŋgu-dja djiŋg-ařgu dji-djaɲjga-a

Nuc M djina nj-ařgu djajŋjga (masc:*this* masc-*other* masc-*rock*) *this different rock*

Ref njuwu-dja njuw-ařgu-lu gi-djajŋjga-wu

Dir njuŋgu-dja njuŋg-ařgu gi-djajŋjga-wu

Acc njuŋgu-dja njuŋg-ařgu gi-djajŋjga-a

Phrases including the dual suffix -wudjaṛa usually occur in Nuclear tagmemes only:

ři-maŋadji miṇiŋu-wudjaṛa (d-*that man*-d) *those two men*

ganjmaḍa-wudjaṛa ři-waŋu-wudjaṛa (*two*-d d-*spouse*-d) *two husbands/wives*

aḍu-wudjaṛa buyi-ŋgudjaṛa ganjmaḍa-wudjaṛa (*child*-d *small*-d *two*-d) *the two small children*

In the above description it will be noted that only common nouns of Type I are referred to, and with a single recorded exception, these are the only nouns which occur with modifiers to form a phrase. The exception is the Type II stem -wini *name*, and this stem may occur with a demonstrative or a numeral modifying it. The stem -wini itself takes a body-part possessive prefix according to the class of the item, and the demonstrative or numeral agrees with the stem according to class but takes a nonpossessive prefix of the kind which occurs with Type I nouns. Available examples are all from Nuclear tagmemes:

F djagaḍa ni-wini M djagaḍa na-wini (masc-*many its*:masc-*name*) *their* (masc) *many names*; F nja-ganjmaḍa niya-wini M ganjmaḍa na-wini (m-*two his-name*) *his two names*; ři-maŋadji nanda-wini (f-*that her-name*) *that name of her's*.

N O T E S

1. The suffix -ŋu seems likely to be the same morpheme which occurs as a relator, described with derivational suffixes in *Compexities of Yanyula Nouns* 7.1. It is noted that this suffix also occurs with the demonstrative pronoun djina *this* in Nuclear occurrence.

2. This usage is shown in three illustrations: 1) A carton of mangoes (fruit and therefore of food class) was under inspection and it was commented that some were ripe and others were green. The word used for both *some* and for *others* was nuw-ařgu with a set II food class prefix. When a bag of mangoes was brought to add to the carton, these were m-ařgu *others* from an outside source, and a set I food class prefix was used. 2) The neighbouring Garawa tribe have been referred to as nal-ařgu *the other people (known to us)*, with a set II prefix. An African tribe seen in a photograph were referred to as l-ařgu *the other people (not known to us)*, with a set I prefix. 3) When a set I dual form was elicited from an informant, she at first misunderstood and gave the more frequently used form with the set II prefix. When a further effort was made the informant gave the required set I form and added, *when they are two strangers.*

3. The stem ařgu has most frequent occurrence in Nuclear tagmemes, and to obtain non-Nuclear forms, particularly of set II prefixes, it was necessary to elicit data. In response to eliciting, the informant gave the suffix -lu to indicate Directive in nuŋgawul-ařgu-lu *to the two others* and nuŋgal-ařgu-lu *to the others* (pl); the suffix -la was given to indicate Accessory in the word nuŋgawul-ařgu-la *with the two others* but there was zero suffixation for Accessory in the word nuŋgal-ařgu *with the others* (pl). However, there seemed some hesitancy in the giving of these forms, and at this time there is evidence of only referent suffix occurrence in non-elicited data.

COMPLEXITIES OF YANYULA NOUNS:
INTER-RELATIONSHIP OF LINGUISTICS AND ANTHROPOLOGY

Jean F. Kirton

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ABBREVIATIONS

abstr	abstract class-marker
acc	accessory tagmeme-marker
anim	animate derivational suffix
arb	arboreal class-marker
attr	attributive derivational suffix
Acc	occurrence in an Accessory tagmeme
d	dual
dir	directive tagmeme-marker
Dir	occurrence in a Directive tagmeme
excl	exclusive
f	female class-marker
fd	food class-marker
fem	feminine class-marker
F	female speaker only
inanim	inanimate derivational suffix
incl	inclusive
m	male class-marker
masc	masculine class-marker
M	male speaker only
nuc	nuclear tagmeme-marker
non:nuc	non-nuclear tagmeme-marker
Nuc	occurrence in a Nuclear tagmeme
pl	plural
ref	referent tagmeme-marker
rel	relator derivational suffix
Ref	occurrence in a Referent tagmeme
s	singular
v	versus

/	(represents alternatives)
{ }	(the bracketed item represents all the allomorphs of its morpheme)
:	(additional meaning within the morpheme)
+	plus
→	becomes
∿	(alternating with a phonologically defined allomorph)

0. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this paper is twofold. The author's intention is 1) to describe as fully and accurately as possible the structure and occurrence of Yanyula[1] nouns, and 2) to show the extent to which the culture directs the language.

Yanyula nouns are of remarkable complexity and a full study of them leads into the patterns of inter-relationship among the speakers as well as into semantics, phonology, and other areas of grammar of the language (see chart 1). Four noun types and fifteen classes are distinguished on the basis of contrastive affixation, separate lists of stems, syntactic agreement, and certain semantic relationships. Grammatical conditioning affects both class-marking prefixes and tagmeme-marking suffixes. Allomorphs of affixes are most frequently related to phonological features. Certain prefix allomorphs, allostems, and alloclasses, however, are conditioned by human relationships within the life of the tribe.

It is noted that in certain areas of Yanyula nouns there are prefix allomorphs which vary according to the sex of the speaker. Because the morphology is more simply described in terms of the women's speech, this speech will be used as the basis of description in sections 1 and 2. Allomorphs occurring in men's speech will be described in section 5.1.

1. SEMANTIC CLASSIFICATION

Nouns may be classified into four main types, and further into fifteen classes (see chart 2). Type I nouns are common nouns which occur in classes 1-7. Type II nouns are body-part nouns which form class 8. Type III nouns are kinship nouns which occur in classes 9-13. Type IV nouns are proper nouns which occur in classes 14-15.

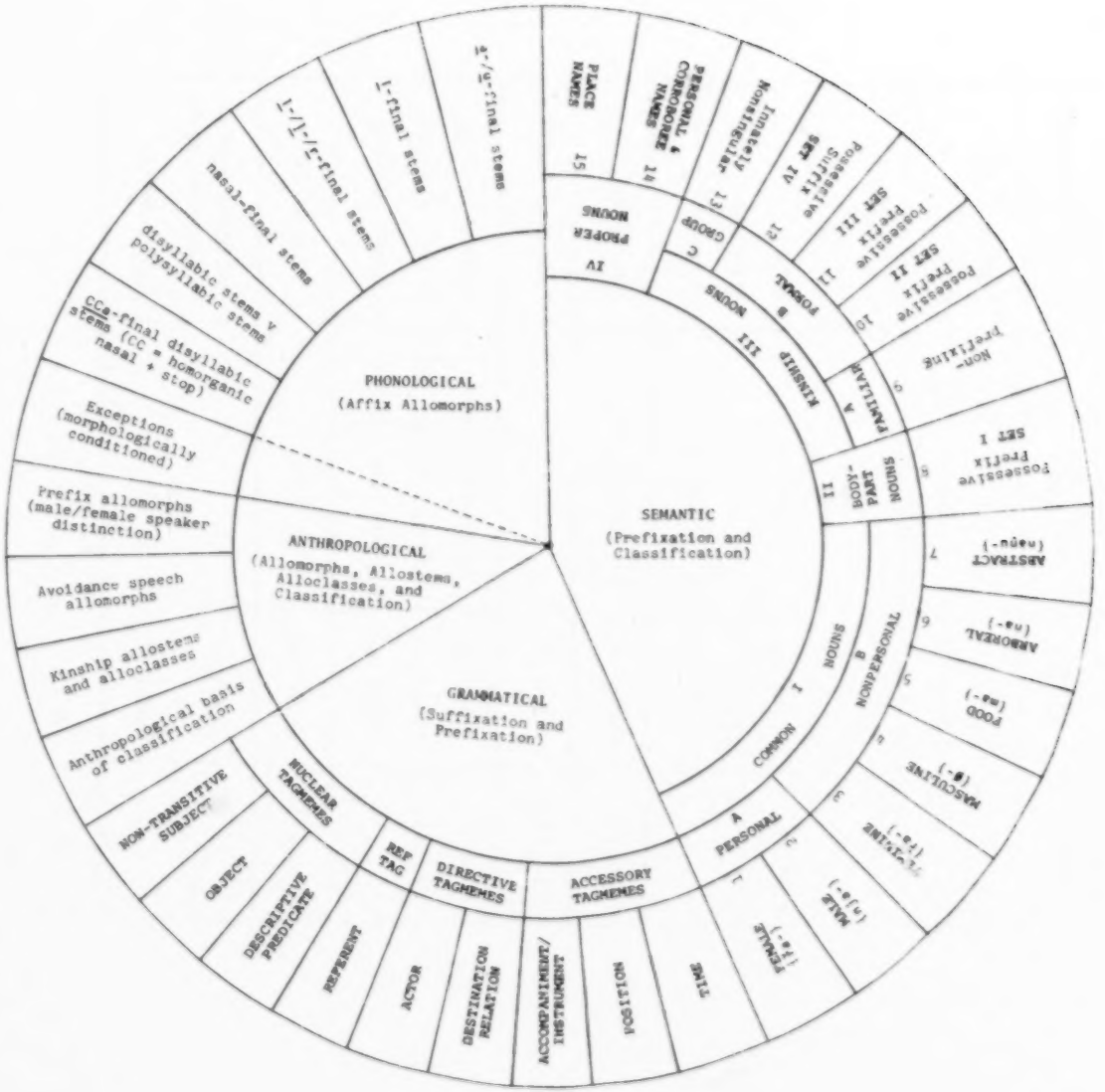
In Yangula there is variation of the class-marking prefix according to the tagmeme[2] in which the noun occurs. The simplest form of each prefix is that which occurs in Nuclear tagmemes (which include non-Transitive Subject, and Object), and this prefix has been chosen as the identifying prefix for each class.

1.1 *COMMON NOUNS*

Type I nouns are common nouns of alienable possession and it is this type only which has unlimited potential for vocabulary growth. Type I nouns are describable in terms of two subtypes and seven classes. In

FACTORS INFLUENCING YANYULA NOUN MORPHOLOGY

Chart 1



YANYULA NOUN TYPES AND CLASSES

Chart 2

Type	Class	Identifying Affix	Typical Category
TYPE IA	Class 1	{ra-}	Female
	Class 2	{nja-}	Male
TYPE IB	Class 3	{ɽa-}	Feminine
	Class 4	{ø-}	Masculine
	Class 5	{ma-}	Food
	Class 6	{na-}	Arboreal
	Class 7	{naṇu-}	Abstract
TYPE II	Class 8	Possessive Set I	Body-parts
TYPE IIIA	Class 9	ø-	Familiar Kinship
TYPE IIIB	Class 10	Possessive Set II	Formal Kinship
	Class 11	Possessive Set III	Formal Kinship
	Class 12	Possessive Set IV	Formal Kinship
TYPE IIIC	Class 13	ø-/ɽi-/li-	Group Kinship
TYPE IV	Class 14		Personal Names, Corroboree Names
	Class 15		Place Names

Yanyula there is a comprehensive system of agreement in which noun modifiers and pronominal morphemes agree with the noun to which they relate syntactically, according to class, number, and tagmeme relationship. Both noun modifiers and pronominal morphemes distinguish the seven Type I classes. Identical morphemes occur for female singular and feminine classes, but only the female class has the potential to extend into dual and plural number. Unmistakable contrast is evidenced by the morphemes which occur in agreement with the remaining noun classes.

Type I nouns are described in terms of Types IA and IB. Type IA consists of personal nouns which form classes 1 and 2, and Type IB consists of nonpersonal nouns which form classes 3-7. Personal nouns are defined as those which refer specifically to human persons, but which may include domesticated animals which have a close personal association. Dogs and horses are known to occur as personal nouns.

Type IA nouns are structurally distinct from Type IB in two main respects. Type IA nouns, and morphemes agreeing with them, distinguish singular, dual, and plural number, while Type IB nouns make no distinction of number. The interrogative stem ŋani *who* is used only in reference to nouns of Type IA, while the stem ŋa̲li *what* is used in reference to nouns of Type IB. This is illustrated below using Type IA female stem **baḍibaḍi** *old woman*, and Type IB feminine stem **muwaḍa** *canoe*:

ŕa-baḍibaḍi	(**f**-*old:woman*)	*old woman*
ŕi-baḍibaḍi	(**d**-*old:woman*)	*old women* (**d**)
li-baḍibaḍi	(**pl**-*old:woman*)	*old women* (**pl**)
ŕa-muwaḍa	(**fem**-*canoe*)	*canoe, canoes*
ŕa-ŋani	**ŕa-baḍibaḍi?**	*Who is the old woman?*
(**f**-*who*)	(**F**-*old:woman*)	
ŕa-ŋa̲li	**ŕa-muwaḍa?**	*What is this (kind of) canoe?*
(**fem**-*what*)	(**fem**-*canoe*)	

1.1.1 Personal Nouns

Type IA nouns are personal common nouns which occur in classes 1 and 2, which are female and male[3] classes respectively. These are the only Type I nouns which distinguish number. The female and male class-marking prefixes are replaced by the dual-marker ŕi- or the plural-marker li- in nonsingular occurrence.

Class 1 (Female)

Class 1 is the female class marked by the prefix {řa-}. This prefix has the free variants řa- and a-,[4] and the relative usage of the two prefixes varies according to speaker preference. At times it has been noted that řa- is used on the first utterance of a word or the first word in a list, and a- is used on the following stem or stems. In examples throughout this paper řa- will be used.

The nouns occurring in class 1 are predictably those referring to female people, with the possibility of the inclusion of a female domesticated animal.

> řa-wuřumbařa / řa-wunbařidji *adolescent girl*, řa-n̲anawaya *woman*, řa-walguṛu *pregnant woman*, řa-biṇḍadjařa *woman with many children*, řa-guliga *woman who has lost a child in infancy*, řa-wamalaŋi *girl in early adolescence*

Female "skin group" names, (including subsection membership in a tribal group according to parentage and sex), also occur as personal nouns. These are:

> řa-niwanama, řa-nimařama, řa-nulanjma, řa-naminjanma,
>
> řa-nuljařima, řa-naŋalama, řa-nuŋaṛima, řa-nuṛulama

Class 2 (Male)

Class 2 is the male class marked by the prefix {nja-}. This class consists of male personal nouns only.

> nja-miṇiṇiya *man*, nja-malbu *old man*, nja-yalguyi *young man*, nja-ṛumanŋu *single man*, nja-mangaṇi *cleverman, doctor*, nja-ṛamanjdja *skilful hunter of dugong (sea mammal)*, nja-daṛu *adolescent boy*, nja-duwařa *initiated boy*

The male tribal subsection names occurring in this class are:

> nja-buřulaŋi, nja-baljařinjdji, nja-gaŋala, nja-bulanji,
>
> nja-baŋařinjdji, nja-gamařaŋi, nja-yagamaṛi,
>
> nja-ŋařidjbalaŋi

Classes 1 and 2

Certain personal noun stems occur in the lists of both classes 1 and 2, and the male or female class-marker distinguishes the sex of the person involved; for example, the stem aḍu *child* occurs as řa-aḍu *girl*, nja-aḍu *boy*. The following are other stems which occur in both classes:

baḍaḍa *baby*, miyadji *widow, widower*, bulmuŋguřu *sick person*, ŋabaŋagu *dead person*, wagugu *dog (pet)*, djawina *subordinate associate*, ŋanjdji *stranger*, wiḍi *elder person, boss*, buṛi *younger person*, mařabaṇḍa *first-born*, bunjdjuṛaŋu *junior to the first-born*

Tribal names also occur in both classes, so that řa-mařa is *Mara woman*, nja-mařa *Mara man*, ři-mařa *two Mara people*, and li-mařa *Mara people, the Mara tribe.*

Other stems in common usage are:

anjuwa / yanjuwa *Yanyula*, ařawa *Garawa*, gudanjdji *Kudanji*, alawa *Alawa*, munaŋa *English, European*

These same tribal name stems occur in class 4 also, and they then refer to the language of the tribe.

Certain tribal group names also occur with female, male, dual, or plural marking. These are the alternative "skin group" names associated with the earlier semi-moiety system of the Yanyula:

wuḍaliya, wuyaliya, ṛumbuřiya, wawugařiya, djuŋgayi

Also included in this section are two innately plural noun stems. These stems have identical occurrence with the plural form of the nouns of classes 1 and 2:

li-wulu *men, Aborigines, people*, li-yumbuwařa *young people*

1.1.2 Nonpersonal Nouns

Type IB nouns are nonpersonal common nouns which occur in classes 3-7, and these classes are respectively feminine, masculine, food, arboreal, and abstract. The class names have been applied according to a typical semantic area within each class (see chart 3).

It is noted that there is a semantic and structural relationship between the feminine and masculine classes of Type IB and the female and male classes respectively, which have been described above. However, on the ground of the evidence shown in separating Types IA and IB (see 1.1 above), the contrastive prefixation of male and masculine classes, and for the sake of simplicity of description, the four classes have been separated.

Class 3 (Feminine)

Class 3 is the feminine class marked by the prefix {řa-}. This prefix has the variants řa- and a-, which for the most part occur in

SEMANTIC CATEGORIES IN YANYULA TYPE I NOUN CLASSES

Chart 3

(x) = limited number of fillers

		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
	Exclusive to and/or Typical of Noun Class	Female people	Male people	Female non-human (certain species only)	Male non-human (as 3) Natural Phenomena Generic Terms	Food Firesticks Tree Source of These	Bark Articles Shelters and Camps	Abstract Things
ANIMATE	Personal Nouns	x	x					
	Creatures Distinguished by Sex			x	x			
	Other Animals				x			
	Reptiles, Birds, Insects			x	x			
	Fish and Other Water Creatures			x	x		(x)	
	Spirits			x	x			
INANIMATE	Grasses				x		x	
	Trees			(x)	x	x		
	Foods (non-meat)			(x)	(x)	x		
	Manufactured Articles			x	x	x	x	
	Natural Phenomena			(x)	x		(x)	(x)
	Pertaining to Corroborees			x	x			x

free variation as for class 1. Two stems included in the examples below occur with the a-variant only.

Class 3 includes a comprehensive range of categories including animate and inanimate nouns. Animate nouns include female nonpersonal creatures of those species for which sex is distinguished, certain species of reptiles, birds, insects, fish and other water creatures, and female spirits.[5] Feminine inanimate nouns include a limited number of trees, natural phenomena, and one variety of food. A number of manufactured articles are included (some having had exclusive use by women but most having had no such limitation), and some items pertaining to corroborees. Examples will be given from the various categories:

Female Member Only of Specific Species: ŋa-wunamuḍu *opossum*, ŋa-malaŋuŋguŋu *wallaby*, ŋa-djunabu *mountain kangaroo*, a-ṇaṇanda *emu*, ŋa-wandiḷ *crab*, a-daŋa *turtle*, ŋa-guṛidi *groper*

Reptiles: ŋa-gadji *freshwater crocodile*, ŋa-bubuṇa *snake species*, ŋa-ŋaguŋaguyaŋa *watersnake species*, ŋa-wayuŋ *blue-tongue lizard*, ŋa-galgi *small lizard species*, ŋa-yuguwaḷ *"stinking" turtle*, ŋa-waṇbul *brown frog species*

Birds: ŋa-baŋal *white cockatoo*, ŋa-ḍingili *galah*, ŋa-waŋga *crow*, ŋa-bulbulgidja *swamp pheasant*, ŋa-yilwiyilwi *duck*, ŋa-wulumaṇḍaya *pigeon species*

Insects: ŋa-malamala *centipede*, ŋa-wunanga *scorpion*, ŋa-gulambimbi *butterfly*, ŋa-wuda *head louse*, ŋa-miyimiyi *fly species*, ŋa-wiyinbin *hornet*

Fish: ŋa-yubaṛa *salmon*, ŋa-maŋinda *bream*, ŋa-muŋba *combfish*, ŋa-manguḍuḍu *type of mullet*, ŋa-ŋuḷi *shellfish species*, ŋa-waŋgili *freshwater combfish*, ŋa-wandimuda *catfish*

Spirits: ŋa-guŋinja *female spirit*

Trees: ŋa-wajŋjguwajŋjgu[6] *blackwood tree*, ŋa-lawuma, ŋa-binjdjiŋi, ŋa-wulgu *different tree species*

Food: ŋa-galwagalwa *round fruit with white flesh*

Manufactured Articles: ŋa-muwaḍa *canoe*, ŋa-mayawadjawa / ŋa-ṛimi *paddle (of canoe)*, ŋa-gandaganda *sailing boat*, ŋa-biṇḍawaŋa *dilly-bag (string bag)*, ŋa-minini *basket*, ŋa-waŋabawaŋaba *fishing net*, ŋa-buŋawa *stone knife*, ŋa-mangabuŋuna *hook boomerang*

Natural Phenomena: ŋa-gamba *sun*, ŋa-yabala *path*, ŋa-ṛumu *waves*, ŋa-wuna *fog, dew*, ŋa-ŋadjaŋ *lightning*, ŋa-maḍu *cold wind, cold season*

Associated with Ceremonial Life: řa-guṛidja *women's fun corroborees*, řa-yawuḻu *women's sacred corroborees*, řa-wuṇambuṇa *white body paint*, řa-mařa *red body paint*

Other: řa-wajgana *ground beehive*,[7] řa-biṇṇji *beeswax (from ground hive)*

Class 4 (Masculine)

Class 4 is the masculine class marked by the prefix {ø-}.[8] This class includes the widest variety of categories and has the greatest number of nouns within those categories. In one hundred quarto pages of text material there were 340 stems of Type I nouns, and of these, 202 stems were of class 4.

Class 4 stems include all generic terms, most natural phenomena, male creatures of species for which sex is distinguished, all remaining animals, reptiles, birds, insects, fish (with the single known exception of a stinging species of jellyfish which occurs in class 5), and spirits. Also included in class 4 are grasses and plants, trees, a few non-flesh foods, many manufactured articles, things pertaining to corroborees, languages, terms for body fluids or discharges, and other items.

Generic Terms: wunala *animal*, djulagi *bird (including bats and flying foxes also)*, aḻgu *fish*, walja *sea turtles and dugong (sea mammal)*, wuṇḍa *tree, wood*, wudjul *grass*, wulandanda *flower*

Natural Phenomena: These are listed under the following headings:

Ground: awaṛa *earth, country*, yuḍu *dust*, waṛař *mud*, djajŋjga *rock, stone*, wuluř *gravel*, mundař *sand*

Water: wabuda *water, rain*, wayařı *rain*, wayuṛu *water from river or spring*, ṛawuřgi *waterhole*, nangawa *lagoon*, anda *sea*, alibi *saltwater*, waṛama *flood*

Sky: aṛař *sky*, ŋawu *cloud*, ŋagaḻa *moon*, mařalawa *star*

Times, Seasons, Winds etc.: wangala *olden time*, ŋaṇḍuwa *day*, wunduṛuř *night*, ŋaḍaṛa *hot dry season*, labayı *wet season*, lambidjı *storm wind*, yaḻimbidjaḻimbi *dry season east wind*, wuřaṛumu *dry season north wind*, yunduřma *earthquake*

Fire: buyuga *fire, firewood*, wuŋŋař *smoke*, alban *ash*, baluŋuŋu *a blaze*

Male Member Only of Specific Species: wuřundula *dingo*, wangiřma *opossum*, baḍagalinja *kangaroo*, naŋuřbuwala *mountain kangaroo*,

wařiguliyaŋu *turtle*, waŋguwa *groper*, waligi *dugong*, yula *crab*

Animals (for which sex is not distinguished): biwali *opossum*, muḍaṛi *bandicoot*, balaguya *kangaroo rat*, mulgun *mouse*, mulḷi *river kangaroo*, mařadji *plains kangaroo*

Reptiles: maḍumbařa *saltwater crocodile*, mundaŋu *freshwater turtle*, waḍaba *goanna species*, wařŋuṇa *large goanna species*, ŋulwa *brown snake*, guṛun *whip snake*, gaṛudji *green frog species*

Birds: gudařgu *brolga*, djalbuřuřu *magpie*, gulagugu *small pigeon*, milinjma *larger multicoloured parrot*, biřililji *smaller multicoloured parrot*, balubalu *pelican*, waṇuřa *crane*

Insects: djaṛuma *grass-hopper*, bibin *fly species*, buljiřiři *moth*, djudayi *tick*, ṛuřuṛuřu *small black beetle*, baṇdja *red ant*, giḍil *sandfly*

Fish: wuniwuni *type of mullet*, djulbi *rifle fish*, ŋulumiṛi *barramundi*, mundulu *bony bream*, ŋuḍuŋuḍu *type of shark*, wud̲iři *a jellyfish*, wadjbuluŋu *saltwater combfish*, wuřya *red bream*, miṛiyi *porpoise*, djiguyu *crab*, l̲amaṇḍa *type of stingray*

Spirits: ŋabaya *spirit*

Grasses and Plants: wuřumuřiya, wunjdjuř, maḍal̲maḍal̲ *types of grass*, buguyabuguya, gařubu *types of plants*

Trees: galabiř *ghost gum*, lamuřa *ironwood tree*, yubalala *bloodwood tree*, aṇḍinj *mangrove*, waṛadji *paperbark tree*

Foods: wulala *type of fruit*, walabu, wanjdjiya *small root foods*

Manufactured Articles: wuguŋu *raft*, ṛajŋjga *anchor*, bařgu *waddy*, wuni *spear type*, wagili *boomerang type*, wudjula *womera type (spear thrower)*, djaŋani *shovelpoint spear*, lama *axe*, wuřbiṛani *stone knife*, djimuguwana *pipe (for tobacco)*, wuřgalu *man's pubic apron (of opossum fur twine)*, madamada *woman's pubic apron*

Associated with Ceremonial Life: walaba *fun corroboree*, yinařambululu *sacred corroboree*, ʂundabiṛa *hollow length of wood (receptacle for the bones of the dead)*, yidjan *dreaming (related to mythology and spiritual life of the people)*, budjimala *rainbow creature (associated with dreaming)*

Language: wuga *word, story, language*, anjuwa / yanjuwa *Yanyula words or language*, ařawa *Garawa words or language*

Body Secretions and Discharges: ŋaŋgař *nasal discharge, a cold*, ṛayal *sputum*, ŋiḷil *tears*, yiliři *blood*, algu *vomitus*, wadawada *urine*, gaga *faeces, filth*

Other: dulbaři *beehive (in tree trunk),*[7] wanjdjiř *leaf,* waṇu *tobacco (for chewing),* mada *tobacco (for smoking),* ṛabu / wiřiṇayi *large shell (for baling out canoe),* waḷwan *chips,* yařiwin *antbed,* wařinj / wudjbi *egg,* lawa *spider's web,* l̲anba *nest*

Class 5 (Food)

Class 5 is the food class marked by the prefix {ma-}. This class includes stems of almost all non-flesh foods, firesticks (from which fire is "made" by twirling a sharpened stick in the hollow of a second piece of wood), articles made from fibrous material obtained from pandanus leaves or from beneath the bark of certain trees, some other manufactured articles, the trees which are the source of the above items, and the words for a boil and a type of stone knife.

Foods (non-flesh): ma-ṇařa *food,* ma-budjuwa *lilyroot,* ma-ṇayi *lily-seed,* ma-guḍiḍi *pandanus nuts,* ma-miṇḍil *edible gum,* ma-wujgu *yam species,* ma-wunjdjuřbunjdjuř *wild plum,* ma-aḍařa *wild passion vine,* ma-mudi *thin-shelled nut with hard white centre (edible after processing)*

Firesticks: ma-yidji *pointed firestick,* ma-buḍala *firestick, tree species*

Manufactured Articles: ma-yulbu *rope, twine,* ma-wuřŋgu *fishing line,* ma-gulabadjařa / ma-balmaṇa *head-dress, hat,* ma-daḍagi *heavy rope, tree species,* ma-ṛilgařa *plaited armband,* ma-djařabaḷ *strap (of fibrous material),* ma-lařuwa / ma-wubin *pipe (for tobacco),* ma-guluřu *didgeridoo (musical instrument),* ma-alagala *funeral platform (on the ground),* ma-wundubundu *shield,* ma-mayaluŋgu *pointed spear*

Trees: ma-wugařa *pandanus palm,* ma-gawuřga *wattle,* ma-galawumbi *tree with black berry,* ma-l̲alba *tree with red berry,* ma-yaḍa *tree with fibrous layer beneath the bark,* ma-wařaŋayi, ma-gulawumbi, ma-wuladji *tree species which provide food*

Other: ma-wundiři *a boil,* ma-wudawuda *stone knife, stone blade of a shovel-point spear*

Class 6 (Arboreal)

Class 6 is the arboreal class marked by the prefix {na-}. This class includes the stems of shelters and camps, bark and articles made from bark, grass species, some other manufactured articles, a few natural phenomena, and the words for breast, milk, and a single type of stinging jellyfish.

Shelters and Camps: na-alanjdji *camp*, na-luŋundu *bark shelter*, na-ŋandu / na-waḍaṛa *bough shelter*

Bark, and Bark Articles: na-buřbuřu *type of paper-bark*, na-l̲anu *bark, coolamon (carrier for foods or baby)*, na-gulgařa *different bark and coolamon made from it*, na-muŋgamuŋga *bark used for covering for shelter or for sleeping*, na-bununu *small bark water container*, na-waliři *bark used for bark-painting*, na-wulgu *bark canoe*

Grasses: na-guwanda *grass (used in a pad to dip into honey and suck)*, na-awili, na-muwulmuwul, na-wiyi, na-l̲ařal̲ařa *different species of grass*

Other Manufactured Articles: na-wabidja *woman's digging stick*, na-wiṛi *pointed stick for removing head lice*, na-ṛidiṛidi *walking stick*, na-walaŋgařaŋu *first harpoon (in spearing dugong)*, na-waḷabaḷa *forked wood*, na-ayi *forked stick used for carrying fish*

Natural Phenomena: na-wulaŋi *river*, na-ḷaŋan *light*, na-wunbař *night time*, na-adjinjdja, na-wiṛiwiṛi *caves*, na-djiwaguḷ *hole (as dug by a dog)*, na-liřidji *goanna burrow*, na-lawař *hole, pit*. (It may be that some items in this are considered to be "camps" also.)

Other: na-wul̲an *breast, milk*, na-wunjdjuřwunjdjuř *small developing breasts of a young girl*, na-walguřařa *stinging jellyfish species*

Class 7 (Abstract)

Class 7 is the abstract class marked by the prefix {naṇu-}. This class includes the least number of items, and it includes stems relating to places of significance to the tribe, a few stems referring to natural phenomena, and nouns relating to abstract things. Many abstract nouns are derived from adjectives or other nouns, and examples will include these:

Significant Places: naṇu-njiřga *corroboree ground*, naṇu-wuřama *fighting ground*

Natural Phenomena: naṇu-galařaŋga / naṇu-wařaŋin *burrow in the ground (with an exit)*, naṇu-maya *land, mainland*

Abstract Items: naṇu-njiṛi *song*, naṇu-yuwa *law*,

Derived: naṇu-waḍi *evil, bad words, bad sickness* (waḍi *bad*); naṇu-guḍuguḍu *sacredness, sacred place* (guḍuguḍu *sacred*); naṇu-wuřulbuřul *leprosy, measles* (wuřulbuřul *lumpy*); naṇu-ŋuyul *a trick, prank* (nja-ŋuyulŋuyul *a clown, trickster*); naṇu-yagayaga *madness, mental sickness* (yagayaga *deaf, stupid*)

1.2 *BODY-PART NOUNS (CLASS 8)*

Type II nouns are innately possessed nouns of class 8 and these consist mainly of body-parts. Class 8 stems are marked by possessive person-marker prefixes of Set I (see chart 4), which agree with the possessor in person, number, and class. Class 8 stems primarily include body-parts of animate beings, but inanimate subjects may also be possessors. Class 7 is the only Type I class which has no body-part possessive.

The prefix {ŋiwa-} *his* has the variant niwa- and niya-; niya- precedes w-initial stems and occurs with the stems manga *body*, and mabuluma *umbilicus;* niwa- occurs with the remaining stems.

Body-parts: ŋaṇa-wada *my hair*, nda-ŋuřu *your nose, face*, nanda-malidji *her finger*, niwa-maṇḍa *his foot, feet*, ŋali-ŋa<u>nd</u>al *our* (d incl) *tongue*, ŋa<u>d</u>ařa-buřu *our* (d excl) *knees*, ŋambala-mi *our* (pl incl) *eyes*, ŋanu-ɽařama *our* (pl excl) *upper legs*, nimbala-wuḍu *your* (d) *stomachs*, niřu-wugu *your* (pl) *backs*, nawula-wulaya *their* (d) *heads*, nalu-wiřba *their* (pl) *lower legs*

Other Items Possessed by a Personal Subject: nda-wini *your* (s) *name*, nda-ŋalgi *your* (s) *tribal "skin group"*

Items Possessed by Nonpersonal Subjects: ni-yiřa *its* (masc) *skin*, ni-liřbi *its* (masc) *scales (as of fish)*, ni-waṇṇji *its* (masc) *flesh, meat*, nu-wulaya *its* (fd) *head, fruit*, nanu-mulu *its* (arb) *mouth (as of cave)*, ni-wuyu *its* (masc) *track*, ni-ɽayi *its* (masc) *noise (sound of water)*, ni-wimbi *its* (masc) *bee (the bee of the masculine hive)*, nanda-wimbi *its* (fem) *bee (the bee of the feminine hive)*, nanda-ɽayal *sea-spray* (literally *its* (fem) *sputum*, or *the spitting of the feminine waves);* nanda-minjdjařařa *sunrise* and nanda-miyaḷ *sunset* (which are possessed by the feminine sun); ni-wala *its* (masc) *branch* and ni-walmuř *its* (masc) *root* (of the masculine tree).

1.3 *KINSHIP NOUNS*

Type III nouns are innately-possessed nouns of classes 9-13, and they consist specifically of kinship terms.[9] Classes are determined by contrastive affixation (see chart 4), different usage, and separate lists of fillers. These nouns are described in terms of Types IIIA, IIIB, and IIIC. Type IIIA consists of familiar kinship noun stems which are nonprefixing, and which occur in class 9. Type IIIB consists of formal kinship nouns which have possessive prefixes and these include classes 10-12. Type IIIC consists of kinship group nouns which are innately nonsingular and which occur in class 13.

1.3.1 Familiar Kinship Nouns (Class 9)

Type IIIA nouns occur in class 9 and they consist of familiar nouns used in addressing relatives, and these terms may also be used in casual conversation with others to refer to these relatives. These terms are similar in function to such English terms as *daddy, mummy, sonny, aunty, grandma, nanna, mom, pop.* (In all following examples, F and M are used preceding a language or translation example to indicate that that form or translation applies to specific use by a female or male speaker only, respectively.)

> gudjaga *mother,* F gu_lagu_la *child,* gaḏjadja *father,* M gadjagadja *child,* gaḏiḏi *mother's brother,* F ga_daga_da *brother's child,* gugu_ḏi *mother's mother,* wugugu* *daughter's child,* gayigayi *spouse,* munjumunju / guyuguyu / maŕuwaŕa *mother's brother's child, father's sister's child,* wu_naga *younger sibling, cousin's child,* gugu *mother's mother's brother,* M muŕumuŕu / nabiṇabi *brother-in-law,* banjdji M *brother-in-law* F *sister-in-law,* M aḏiyaḏi* *sister's child,* mimi* *mother's father,* M *daughter's son,* muṛimuṛi* *father's father* M *son's child,* ŋabudji* *father's mother* F *son's child,* baba* *elder sibling*

The stems which are asterisked above also occur in the list of class 10 stems but with a more restricted meaning: for example, certain stems in class 9 are used reciprocally by both people in a certain relationship, but when those same stems occur in class 10, they are used by the junior relative only.

1.3.2 Formal Kinship Nouns

Type IIIB nouns occur in classes 10-12, and they consist of formal kinship nouns. All such nouns are marked by a Type IA prefix to indicate female, male, dual, or plural, and this prefix precedes all other prefixation. These classes are also marked for possession. Classes are distinguished on the basis of contrastive affixation (see chart 4 for contrastive possessive affix sets) and separate lists of nouns.

It is noted that class 12 consists of the single stem -gayiba_nda M *mother-in-law* F *son-in-law,* but this stem is affixed in such a radically different way that it is set up as a class. The kinship relationship involved is one of extreme avoidance. It is further noted that the stem -waŋu *spouse* occurs as a separate subclass in class 10 because of a unique restriction of suffixation, and that this kinship relationship

POSSESSIVE AFFIXES FOR YANYULA NOUNS

Chart 4

	Type II	Type III Kinship Nouns		
	Body-part Nouns	Class 10	Class 11	Class 12
	Set I Prefix	Set II Prefix	Set III Prefix	Set IV Suffix
1 pl incl	ŋambala-	ŋambalaŋa-	gambala-	-ŋambalalu
1 pl excl	ŋanu-	ŋanuŋa-	ganu-	-ŋanuwalu
1 d incl	ŋali-	ŋaliŋa-	gali-	-ŋalilalu
1 d excl	ŋaḏařa-	ŋaḏařaŋa-	gaḏařa-	-ŋaḏařalu
1 s	ŋaṇa-	ŋaḏa-/ɖja-	gaṇa-	-ŋaḏaŋgalu
2 pl	niřu-	yiřuŋa-	giřu-	-yiřuwalu
2 d	nimbala-	yimbalaŋa-	gimbala-	-yimbalalu
2 s	nda-	yingu-	ga-	-yindalu
3 pl	nalu-	aluŋa-	galu-	-aluwalu
3 d	nawula-	wulaŋa-	gawula-	-wulalu
3 s female	nanda-	angu-	ganda-	-andalu
3 s male	niwa-	yigu-	gilu-	-yilalu
3 feminine	nanda-	angu-		
3 masculine	ni-	ayu-		
3 food	nu-			
3 arboreal	nanu-			

is the one of closest association. It therefore seems likely that there is also an anthropological basis for the setting up of the remaining kinship classes and subclasses. There is indication that this is so, but present knowledge is insufficient to substantiate the theory.

Class 10

Class 10 consists of the most comprehensive list of stems used in formal reference to relatives. Three orders of prefixes occur of which the first and third order prefixes are personal prefixes[10] indicating the sex and number of relatives, and the second order prefix is a possessive prefix. This possessive prefix set is identical in form with the free possessive pronoun set, although morphophonemic changes occur.

There are three subclasses of stems within class 10 determined by variant prefixation for first person singular possession and variant suffixation. The lists for subclasses (a) and (c) take the three orders of prefixes as described above. The list for subclass (b) takes the variant prefix **dja-** *my*, and this form replaces both the first order personal prefix and the second order possessive prefix. (The prefix **dja-** is identical in form with the stem of the near demonstrative pronoun *this*.) For all possessive persons other than first person singular, subclass (b) takes regular class 10 prefixes. Subclass (c) consists of the single stem **-waŋu** *spouse* which occurs with restricted suffixation.

The first and third order prefixes are identical in form with those for female, male, dual, or plural, which mark Type IA stems, (that is, in Nuclear occurrence). The second order prefixes are set II possessive prefixes (see chart 4).

The masculine possessive **ayu-** occurs with a single stem **ŋanjdji** *relative, fellow-countryman*. It is noted that the male personal prefix **nja- / nj-** is used to mark the masculine stem in this class:

nj-ayu-nja-ŋanjdji (**masc-***its*:**masc-masc-***fellow*:*countryman*)
its fellow-countryman

(This examples occurred in relating two kinds of plants which grew in the same kind of soil, the one plant being the **ŋanjdji** of the other.)

In the lists of stems occurring in subclasses (a) and (b), there are some stems which may also occur without prefixation to be used as familiar terms in the same way as class 9 stems. Such stems are marked below with an asterisk.

Subclass (a): F -abaŋu *brother's child,* aḍu *son, daughter,* -aḍuŋanda *father-in-law,* -anjiṛa *younger sibling,* bařaḍa* / wibi* *mother,* wunjaḍa* / biyi* *father,* -miyaŋgi F *sister's husband* M *younger brother's wife,* ŋanjdji *relative,* -ŋayiŋu *cousin,* ṛuḍu *mother's eldest brother,* -yalanjdji M *elder brother's wife* F *elder sister's husband,* yumařa *companion*

Subclass (b): aḍiyaḍi *mother's brother, mother's eldest sister,* -agaga *mother's younger brother,* baba* *elder sibling,* mimi *mother's father,* muṛimuṛi *father's father,* ŋaŋa* *father's sister, father's elder brothers,* ŋabudji *father's mother*

Subclass (c): -waŋu *spouse*

Class 11

Class 11 consists of a limited number of stems. These occur with a first order possessive prefix and a second order personal prefix which indicates sex and number. The set III possessive prefix set (see chart 4) is almost identical with the Intransitive Subject person-marker set. The exceptional occurrence is the morpheme gilu- *his.*

The stems occurring in class 11 are those used by certain senior relatives. In the reciprocal relationships which are involved, the two related members use identical or related forms for each other in familiar speech, the junior member retains the familiar stem in class 10 in formal speech, and the senior member uses a class 11 noun in formal reference.

The prefix ga- *your* (s), which is a class 11 possessive, has a peculiar occurrence. Whenever this prefix occurs it is accompanied by a variant form of the stem. In the list of stems below, the allostem occurring with ga- will be listed in brackets following the regular form:

> -aḍima (-aḍimaṉu) M *sister's child* F *younger sister's child (used by eldest sister only),* F -maŋgayi (-maŋgaṉu) *son's child,* -mařini (-mařininmaṉu) M *daughter's child* F *brother's daughter's child,* M -muṛima (-muṛimaṉu) *son's child,* M -ŋaŋama (-ŋaŋamaṉu) *younger sibling's child,* F wuḏayi (-wuḏayimaṉu) *daughter's child*

Class 12

Class 12 consists of the single stem -gayibaṉda M *mother-in-law* F *son-in-law.* This stem takes a first order prefix to indicate sex and

number, but unlike any other noun class which is marked for possession, class 12 is marked by a possessive *suffix* set (see chart 4 set IV). The possessive occurs as a first order suffix, which is identical in form with the respective Destination Relation free pronoun.

1.3.3 Group Kinship Nouns (Class 13)

Type IIIC nouns consist of innately nonsingular kinship stems of class 13. The stems of this class may occur unprefixed, or less frequently with the dual prefix ƞi-, to indicate a group of two people interrelated in a certain way. The stems occur with the plural prefix li- to indicate a larger number who come from two tribal groups and are interrelated in a certain way. Plural prefixation is accompanied by partial reduplication of the stem. This reduplication does not follow the regular pattern for noun stems (see 7.2) and therefore the respective plural allostem will be listed below in brackets following the regular stem:

majgaƞa	(majgalmajgaƞa)	*husband and wife*
ŋijŋjgaƞa	(ŋijŋjgalŋijŋjgaƞa)	*two siblings*
ayaƞa	(alayaƞa)	*mother and child (of similar age)*
bilaƞa	(bilbilaƞa)	*father and child*
aḍigaƞa*	(aladigaƞa)	*man and sister's child*
muṛigaƞa*	(munmuṛigaƞa)	*child and mother's mother or mother's mother's brother*
babaguḷa*	(babaguḷa)	*two elder siblings*

The following two stems occur only in the plural form:

manmaƞuwaƞa*	*tribal cousins*
ṛigaṛigadjanjdja	*siblings in a single family or in brothers' families*

The asterisked stems in the above lists are those which are related in form to kinship stems of Type IIIB.

1.4 *PROPER NOUNS*

Type IV nouns are proper nouns occurring in classes 14 and 15. These classes include personal and corroboree names, and place names. Type IV nouns have the simplest morphology and the most limited occurrence.

Class 14 (Personal and Corroboree Names)

Class 14 has two subclasses, of which subclass (a) is a personal class consisting of the names of individuals, and subclass (b) is a nonpersonal class consisting of the names of corroborees.

Subclass (a): Personal names are used when speaking of a person, and the relevant kinship term or another general vocative term is used when speaking to him. Personal names are used with and without the personal male or female prefix. The following are a selection of personal names:

buřayi, baŋgiřinju, waŋgařawi, bunadja, diŋgawu,
ŋařigalu, mařŋawi, wanidjabu, dawajgu, walimuŋgu

Subclass (b): Corroboree names are masculine with the single known exception of the Kunapipi, which may optionally take the feminine prefix. The following are corroboree names:

gunabibi / řa-gunabibi, guljugulju, milba,
malwa, gundawiřa, wulubuwa, wambuyaŋa

Class 15 (Place Names)

Class 15 consists of place names. These noun stems have a limited distribution and tagmeme-marking is similarly limited. Yanyula place names include:

wařaluŋgu *Burketown Crossing*, buřulula *Borroloola*, wulugulini *One Mile*, muŋgumuŋganda *Centre Island*, wandaŋula *Police Lagoon*, njdjawuma *The Landing*, wadawadala *Blackfellow Crossing*, mařinjbul (land near Manangoora cattle station)

2. GRAMMATICAL CONDITIONING

Yanyula nouns are conditioned by occurrence in clause-level tagmemes. Tagmeme-marking involves suffixation of the stem and variant occurrence of the class-marking prefix. Certain noun classes are marked only by a tagmeme-marking prefix and some only by suffixes. Other nouns are marked by both prefixes and suffixes which then occur in agreement.

Tagmeme-marking makes four major distinctions, but serves to mark nine tagmemes with little ambiguity. A single morpheme can carry several meanings, which are defined by the clause type in which it occurs.

Tagmeme-marking suffixes distinguish Nuclear (**Nuc**), Referent (**Ref**), Directive (**Dir**), and Accessory (**Acc**) tagmemes (defined below). Some prefix sets distinguish Nuclear and non-Nuclear, and others distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory tagmemes. Nuclear tagmemes are non-Transitive Subject,[11] Object, Descriptive Predicate (for example: *he (is) BIG, he (is) A MAN*). The Referent tagmeme expresses purpose, benefaction, or indicates an indirect object. Directive tagmemes are Actor and Destination Relation (indicating *to* or *from* a destination). Accessory tagmemes are Position, Time, and Accompaniment/Instrument.

2.1 *TAGMEME-MARKING SUFFIXES*

The following is the full set of tagmeme-marking suffixes:

-ø[8]	(Nuclear)
{-wu}	(Referent)
{-lu}	(Directive)
{-la}	(Accessory)

Sets of allomorphs of these suffixes are described below (see 3.1).

Certain noun classes take the full set of suffixes, some take partial suffixation, and some do not take tagmeme-marking suffixes. Full suffixing occurs with all classes of Types I, II, IIIA and IIIB except for class 10 subclass (c) stem -waŋu *spouse* where partial suffixation occurs, and with Type IV class 15 stems. The stem -waŋu takes the referent suffix only. The place name stems of Type IV class 15 take only directive and accessory suffixes to indicate *to* and *at* respectively. The classes which do not take tagmeme-marking suffixation, other than the -ø nuclear suffix, are classes 12 and 13 of Type III, and class 14 of Type IV.

2.2 *TAGMEME-MARKING PREFIX SETS*

Tagmeme-marking prefixes are conditioned by occurrence in clause-level tagmemes, and a set of prefixes occurs for each prefixing class and sets for dual and plural. Certain sets distinguish only between Nuclear and non-Nuclear. Others distinguish Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory (see chart 5).

2.2.1 Type I Noun Prefix Sets

Singular nouns of classes 1 and 2, and nouns of classes 3 and 4 differentiate only Nuclear and non-Nuclear by prefixation. Sets are:

TAGMEME-MARKING OF YANYULA TYPE I NOUNS

Chart 5

	Nuclear	Referent	Directive	Accessory
Suffixation of All Classes	-ø	{-wu}	{-lu}	{-la}
Plural Prefix (Personal)	li-	liyi-	linjdji-	
Dual Prefix (Personal)	řǐ-	řiyi-	řinjdji-	
Class 7 Prefix (Abstract)	naṇu-	nuwaṇu-	nuŋgaṇu-	
Class 6 Prefix (Arboreal)	na-	nu-	nuŋgu-	
Class 5 Prefix (Food)	ma-	mu-	muŋgu-	
Class 4 Prefix (Masculine)	ø-	dji-		
Class 3 Prefix (Feminine)	řa-	řu-		
Class 2 Prefix (Male)	nja-	nju-		
Class 1 Prefix (Female)	řa-	řu-		

	Classes 1 and 3	Class 2	Class 4
Nuc	{ɽa-} (ɽa- / a-)	nja-	∅-
Non-Nuc	{ɽu-} (ɽu- / wu-)	nju-	dji-

Classes 5-7 differentiate Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory. Sets are:

	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7
Nuc	ma-	na-	naṇu-
Ref	mu-	nu-	nuwaṇu-
Dir/Acc	muŋgu-	nuŋgu-	nuŋgaṇu-

Personal dual and plural prefixes also differentiate Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory for classes 1 and 2:

	Dual	Plural
Nuc	ɽi-	li-
Ref	ɽiyi-	liyi-
Dir/Acc	ɽinjdji-	linjdji-

The following are examples of Type I nouns with tagmeme-marking prefixation and suffixation:

	Class 1		Class 2	
Nuc	ɽa-baḍaḍa	*baby girl*	nja-maṛanjdja	*dugong hunter*
Ref	ɽu-baḍaḍa-wu		nju-maṛanjdja-wu	
Dir	ɽu-baḍaḍa-lu		nju-maṛanjdja-lu	
Acc	ɽu-baḍaḍa-la		nju-maṛanjdja-la	
	Dual		Plural	
Nuc	ɽi-baḍaḍa	*two babies*	li-maṛanjdja	*dugong hunters*
Ref	ɽiyi-baḍaḍa-wu		liyi-maṛanjdja-wu	
Dir	ɽinjdji-baḍaḍa-lu		linjdji-maṛanjdja-lu	
Acc	ɽinjdji-baḍaḍa-la		linjdji-maṛanjdja-la	

	Class 4		Class 5	
Nuc	buyuga	*fire*	ma-wugařa	*pandanus palm*
Ref	dji-buyuga-wu		mu-wugařa-wu	
Dir	dji-buyuga-lu		muŋgu-wugařa-lu	
Acc	dji-buyuga-la		muŋgu-wugařa-la	

	Class 6		Class 7	
Nuc	na-waḍaṛa	*bough shelter*	naṇu-wuřama	*fighting ground*
Ref	nu-waḍaṛa-wu		nuwaṇu-wuřama-wu	
Dir	nuŋgu-waḍaṛa-lu		nuŋgaṇu-wuřama-lu	
Acc	nuŋgu-waḍaṛa-la		nuŋgaṇu-wuřama-la	

2.2.2 Type II Noun Prefix Sets

Type II body-part nouns most frequently occur in non-Nuclear tagmemes with no prefixation. In place of the possessive prefix the respective free pronoun occurs with the noun stem to form a phrase:

Nuc	nda-wuluŋanda	*your (s) shoulder*
Acc	wuluŋanda-la yinda-a (*shoulder-on you:s-on*)	*on your (s) shoulder*

There is no record of any occurrence of dual or plural possessive prefixes in non-Nuclear tagmemes. There are possessive sets for all singular persons, although these are less frequently used than noun phrases:

	Nuclear	Referent	Dir/Acc
1 s	ŋaṇa-	niyiŋaṇa-	niŋgiŋaṇa-
2 s	nda-	niyinda-	niŋginda-
3 s f	nanda-	nuwanda-	nuŋganda-
3 s m	niwa-	niyiwa-	niŋgiwa-
3 fem	nanda-	nuwanda-	nuŋganda-
3 masc	ni-	niyi-	niŋgi-
3 fd	nu-	nuwu-	nuŋga-
3 arb	nanu-	nuwanu-	nuŋganu-

2.2.3 Types III, IV, Prefix Sets

Prefixing of classes in Types III and IV, is also conditioned by clause-level occurrence. The third order personal prefix of class 10 distinguishes Nuclear, Referent, and Directive/Accessory. The female ƒa- / a- and the male nja- prefixes of Nuclear tagmemes become ƒu- / wu- and nju- respectively in Referent tagmemes, and ƒuŋgu- / wuŋgu- and njuŋgu- in Directive/Accessory tagmemes.

All remaining personal prefixes make the same distinctions as in Type IA occurrence (see 2.2.1). These remaining personal prefixes include the first order personal prefixes of class 10, initial prefixes of classes 11-13, the initial prefix preceding the dja- prefix in class 10 subclass (b), and the dual and plural prefixes in class 15. (Examples of nouns from Types II, III, and IV will be given in section 3 when allomorphs of affixes are described.)

3. PHONOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

Phonological conditioning occurs when stems and affixes of certain phonological shapes co-occur. Variants of suffixes and prefixes will be described.

3.1 *SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS*

In describing suffix allomorphs it is necessary to state which noun type is involved. Types I and II occur with one of nine suffix sets (see Chart 6) according to the phonological shape of the stem for the most part. Types III and IV take set I tagmeme-markers regardless of stem shape: -∅ (nuclear), -wu / -yu (referent), -lu (directive), -la (accessory). The Referent variant -yu occurs following i-final stems, and -wu following other vowels. One exception ŋanjdji *relative, countryman* occurs, which takes set 9 allomorphs. The following are examples of nouns from classes 9, 10, and 15, which are the classes from Types III and IV which take suffixes:

	Class 9		Class 10	
Nuc	mimi	*mother's father*	nja-ŋada-nja-biyi	(m-*my*-m-*father*) *my father*
Ref	mimi-yu		nju-ŋada-nju-biyi-yu	
Dir	mimi-lu		njuŋgu-ŋada-nju-biyi-lu	
Acc	mimi-la		njuŋgu-ŋada-nju-biyi-la	

ANYULA TAGMEME-MARKING SUFFIX ALLOMORPHS

Chart 6

Set	Stem Type	Nuc	Ref	Dir	Acc
1	Polysyllabic vowel-final (except la-, lu-, li-final)	-Ø	-wu/-yu	-lu	-la
2	Disyllabic a-, u-final (except CCa-final) Polysyllabic la-, lu-final	-Ø	-wu	-ŋgu	-ŋga
3	Disyllabic i-final Polysyllabic li-final	-Ø	-yu	-njdju	-njdja
4	Disyllabic CCa-final (CC = homorganic cluster of nasal + stop)	-Ø	-wu	-wu	-a
5	ɽ-, l-, ḷ-final	-Ø	-u	-u	-a
6	n-final	-Ø	-gu	-du	-da
7	nj-final	-Ø	-gu (nj → ŋ)	-u	-a
8	Morphologically-defined	-Ø	-ngu	-ndu	-nda
9	Morphologically-defined	-Ø	-ŋgu	-nju	-nja

Class 15: buřululu *Borroloola* (Nuc), buřululu-lu (Dir), buřululu-la (Acc)

The three stems mimi, biyi and buřululu are all of the phonological shape to have caused suffix allomorphs if they had occurred in Types I or II lists.

In suffix allomorph sets for all classes the nuclear tagmeme-marker occurs as -∅, and in each set except set 4 the difference between the directive and accessory suffixes is a predictable vowel change.

Suffixation of Types I and II nouns is influenced by the number of syllables in the stem, the final phoneme of the stem, and by the final syllable type. Morphophonemic changes are caused by disyllabic stems, consonant- and i-final stems, and by a CCa-final syllable of a disyllabic stem in which the CC of that syllable is a homorganic cluster of nasal plus stop, and the final vowel is a.

There are also two lists of stems which take variant sets for which no phonological rules can be applied, and other exceptions to the rules will be described.

Suffix Allomorphs with Vowel-final Stems:

Four sets of allomorphs occur with vowel-final stems.

Set 1 is the basic set: -∅ (nuclear), -wu / -yu (referent), -lu (directive), -la (accessory). This set occurs with polysyllabic noun stems of Types I and II, with the exception of la-, lu-, and li-final stems; (a polysyllabic stem is defined as being a stem of three or more syllables):

Nuc	na-wabidja	(arb-*hitting: stick*)	nja-ŋabaŋagu	(m-*dead: man*)
Ref	nu-wabidja-wu		nju-ŋabaŋagu-wu	
Dir	nuŋgu-wabidja-lu		nju-ŋabaŋagu-lu	
Acc	nuŋgu-wabidja-la		nju-ŋabaŋagu-la	
Nuc	ma-wuřadji	(fd-*spear: type*)	gidjbagidjba	(masc-*chains*)
Ref	mu-wuřadji-yu		dji-gidjbagidjba-wu	
Dir	muŋgu-wuřadji-lu		dji-gidjbagidjba-lu	
Acc	muŋgu-wuřadji-la		dji-gidjbagidjba-la	

Nuc	ɽa-baḍibaḍi	(f-*old:woman*)	wulandanda	(masc-*flowers*)
Ref	ɽu-baḍibaḍi-yu		dji-wulandanda-wu	
Dir	ɽu-baḍibaḍi-lu		dji-wulandanda-lu	
Acc	ɽu-baḍibaḍi-la		dji-wulandanda-la	

Nuc	maḍumbaɽa	(masc-*crocodile*)
Ref	dji-maḍumbaɽa-wu	
Dir	dji-maḍumbaɽa-lu	
Acc	dji-maḍumbaɽa-la	

Set 2 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -wu (referent), -ŋgu (directive), -ŋga (accessory). These suffixes occur with a- and u-final disyllabic stems, and with la- and lu-final polysyllabic stems:

Nuc	biga	(masc-*fish: hook*)	ni-ŋuɽu	(*its*:masc-*nose*)
Ref	dji-biga-wu		niyi-ŋuɽu-wu	
Dir	dji-biga-ŋgu		niŋgi-ŋuɽu-ŋgu	
Acc	dji-biga-ŋga		niŋgi-ŋuɽu-ŋga	
Nuc	nja-malbu	(m-*old:man*)	naṇu-njiɽga	(abstr-*corroboree: ground*)
Ref	nju-malbu-wu		nuwaṇu-njiɽga-wu	
Dir	nju-malbu-ŋgu		nuŋgaṇu-njiɽga-ŋgu	
Acc	nju-malbu-ŋga		nuŋgaṇu-njiɽga-ŋga	
Nuc	wunala	(masc-*animal*)	wuluwulu	(masc-*upper:grinding:stone*)
Ref	dji-wunala-wu		dji-wuluwulu-wu	
Dir	dji-wunala-ŋgu		dji-wuluwulu-ŋgu	
Acc	dji-wunala-ŋga		dji-wuluwulu-ŋga	

Set 3 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -yu (referent), -njdju (directive), -njdja (accessory). These suffixes occur with i-final disyllabic stems, and with li-final polysyllabic stems:

Nuc	ɽa-ṛimi	(fem-*paddle*)	ma-ṇayi	(fd-*lily:seed*)
Ref	ɽu-ṛimi-yu		mu-ṇayi-yu	
Dir	ɽu-ṛimi-njdju		muŋgu-ṇayi-njdju	
Acc	ɽu-ṛimi-njdja		muŋgu-ṇayi-njdja	

Nuc	djilili (masc-*spring: of water*)	niwa-milimili (*his:chest*)
Ref	dji-djilili-yu	niyiwa-milimili-yu
Dir	dji-djilili-njdju	niŋgiwa-milimili-njdju
Acc	dji-djilili-njdja	niŋgiwa-milimili-njdja

Set 4 suffixes are: -∅ (nuclear), -wu (referent, directive), -a (accessory). These suffixes occur with CCa-final disyllabic stems, in which the consonant cluster CC is a homorganic cluster of nasal plus stop, and a is the final vowel.

Nuc	wuṇḍa (masc-*tree*)	djajŋjga (masc-*rock*)
Ref, Dir	dji-wuṇḍa-wu	dji-djajŋjga-wu
Acc	dji-wuṇḍa-a	dji-djajŋjga-a

Nuc	ř̈a-gamba (fem-*sun*)	anda (masc-*sea*)
Ref, Dir	ř̈u-gamba-wu	djiy-anda-wu
Acc	ř̈u-gamba-a	djiy-anda-a

Suffix Allomorphs with Consonant-final Stems:

Most of the noun stems of the language have a vowel in final phoneme position, however, certain consonants do occur in this position. Of these consonants, ř̈, l, l̤, and n are the most frequently occurring, two nj-final stems have been noted, and one instance each of jŋ and dj has been recorded. The latter two will be dealt with in the section on exceptions.

Set 5 suffix set is: -∅ (nuclear), -u (referent, directive), -a (accessory). This set occurs with ř̈-, l-, and l̤-final stems:

Nuc	waṛař̈ (masc-*mud*)	nda-ŋandal (*your:s-tongue*)
Ref	dji-waṛař̈-u	niyinda-ŋandal-u
Dir	dji-waṛař̈-u	niŋginda-ŋandal-u
Acc	dji-waṛař̈-a	niŋginda-ŋandal-a

Nuc	ma-wabal̤ (fd-*wild: potato*)	ni-majŋul (*ite:*masc-*fat*)
Ref	mu-wabal̤-u	niyi-majŋul-u
Dir	muŋgu-wabal̤-u	niŋgi-majŋul-u
Acc	muŋgu-wabal̤-a	niŋgi-majŋul-a

Set 6 suffix set is: -∅ (nuclear), -gu (referent), -du (directive), -da (accessory). This set occurs with n-final stems:

Nuc	ŋuřbun	(masc-*scrub*)	na-wuṉan	(arb-*milk*)
Ref	dji-ŋuřbun-gu		ŋu-wuṉan-gu	
Dir	dji-ŋuřbun-du		nuŋgu-wuṉan-du	
Acc	dji-ŋuřbun-da		nuŋgu-wuṉan-da	

Set 7 suffix set is: -∅ (nuclear), -gu (referent), -u (directive), -a (accessory). This set occurs with ŋj-final stems. The final ŋj of the stem becomes ŋ preceding the Referent suffix gu:

Nuc	aṇḍinj	(masc-*mangrove*)	wařinj	(masc-*egg*)
Ref	djiy-aṇḍiŋ-gu		dji-wařiŋ-gu	
Dir	djiy-aṇḍinj-u		dji-wařinj-u	
Acc	djiy-aṇḍinj-a		dji-wařinj-a	

Exceptions:

Noun stems which do not conform to the above rules vary in several ways. Two further lists of stems occur with morphologically defined allomorphs of sets 8 and 9, some stems which occur with allomorphs from sets 1-9 may alternatively take variant suffixes, and certain other stems are quite irregular and will be listed.

Set 8 allomorphs are: -∅ (nuclear), -ngu (referent), -ndu (directive), -nda (accessory). This set occurs with the following stems: l̲uwa *snake*, ŋařa *food*, manga *body*, yulbu *vein, string*, bařgu *waddy*, waṇnji *flesh, meat*, buřu *knee*, walaba *corroboree*, djulagi *bird, plane*, wulaŋi *river*, malidji *finger, hand*

Nuc	ma-ŋařa	(fd-*food*)	na-wulaŋi	(arb-*river*)
Ref	mu-ŋařa-ngu		nu-wulaŋi-ngu	
Dir	muŋgu-ŋařa-ndu		nuŋgu-wulaŋi-ndu	
Acc	muŋgu-ŋařa-nda		nuŋgu-wulaŋi-nda	

Set 9 allomorphs are: -∅ (nuclear), -ŋgu (referent), -nju (directive), -nja (accessory). This set occurs with the following stems: buṛi *younger person*, ŋanjdji *stranger* (Type I), *relative* (Type IIIB). (This list becomes longer with the addition of adjective stems which take this same affixation):

Nuc	nja-buṛi	(m-*younger: person*)	ř i-ŋanjdji	(d-*stranger*)
Ref	nju-buṛi-ŋgu		řiyi-ŋanjdji-ŋgu	
Dir	nju-buṛi-nju		řinjdji-ŋanjdji-nju	
Acc	nju-buṛi-nja		řinjdji-ŋanjdji-nja	

Certain stems from Types I and II, which have already been described above, may additionally occur with a variant form for directive and accessory marking. Stems will be listed below with the previously described and the alternative directive suffixes respectively. The variant accessory suffix may be predicted from the directive suffix by changing the final vowel from u to a:

buřu (-ndu/-ŋgu) *knee*, waṛama (-lu/-ŋgu) *flood*, bulugi (-lu/-njdju) *bullock*, djulagi (-ndu/-njdju) *bird, plane*, ařawa (-lu/-ŋgu) *Garawa*, gagayi (-lu/-njdju) *lily flower*, wuḍula (-ŋgu/-lu) *spirit (of living person)*

The stem wudjul *grass* regularly takes the directive suffix -u, but it may alternatively lose the final consonant of the stem and it then occurs as a regular vowel-final stem. This group of stems also includes certain polysyllabic řa- and řu-final stems which occur with -lu and -ŋgu in free variation:

buyuřu *bone*, guluřu *didgeridoo*, wugařa *pandanus palm*

Nuc	nda-buřu	(*your:s-knee*)	djulagi	(masc-*plane*)
Dir	niŋginda-buřu-ndu		dji-djulagi-ndu	
	/ niŋginda-buřu-ŋgu		/ dji-djulagi-njdju	
Nuc	wudjul	(masc-*grass*)	ma-guluřu	(fd-*didgeridoo*)
Dir	dji-wudjul-u		muŋgu-guluřu-lu	
	/ dji-wudju-ŋgu		/ muŋgu-guluřu-ŋgu	

The remaining stems occur with suffixes other than any of the above sets, or, if they do occur with sets described above, they break the rules of occurrence. These stems are listed below with referent and directive suffixes respectively, accessory suffixes again being predictable from the directive: wuni (-ŋgu, -njdju) *spear type*, mayi (-ŋgu, -njdju) *tooth*, diŋgi (-yu, -nju) *dinghy*, ŋabaya (-wu, -ŋgu) *evil spirit*, ŋaṇḍu (-wu, -wu) *shade, shadow*, wuḍu (-wu, -lu) *stomach*, wula (-wu, -lu) *head*

The final stem wula is a variant form of the stem wulaya, and it is noted that the same suffixes which irregularly occur with wula are used quite regularly with the polysyllabic stem variant.

Nuc	wuni (masc-*spear:type*)	ɽa-diŋgi (fem-*dinghy*)
Ref	dji-wuni-ŋgu	ɽu-diŋgi-yu
Dir	dji-wuni-njdju	ɽu-diŋgi-nju
Acc	dji-wuni-njdja	ɽu-diŋgi-nja

In addition to these stems there are two monosyllabic noun stems, and both are Type II body-part stems. It is noted that one takes suffixes as for a regular disyllabic i-final stem, and the other takes suffixes as for a regular polysyllabic i-final stem:

Nuc	nanda-mi (*her-eye*)	nanda-wi (*her-arm*)
Ref	nuwanda-mi-yu	nuwanda-wi-yu
Dir	nuŋganda-mi-lu	nuŋganda-wi-njdju
Acc	nuŋganda-mi-la	nuŋganda-wi-njdja

Two consonant-final stems have not yet been included in the description. These are giyijŋjgiyijŋ *flying fox* and buɽidjbuɽidj *willy-wagtail (bird)*. Each of these is the only example of a stem with this particular consonant as the final phoneme. These two stems take suffixes as follows:

Nuc	giyijŋjgiyijŋ (masc-*flying: fox*)	buɽidjbuɽidj (masc-*willy: wagtail*)
Ref	dji-giyijŋjgiyi-ŋgu	dji-buɽudjbuɽi-yu
Dir	dji-giyijŋjgiyi-njdju	dji-buɽidjbuɽi-lu
Acc	dji-giyijŋjgiyi-njdja	dji-buɽidjbuɽi-la

3.2 *PREFIX ALLOMORPHS*

Most prefix allomorphs are described in terms of loss or addition of a vowel or a semivowel. In Yanyula the only permissible vowel cluster is aa. When any other two vowels come together, either one vowel is lost or a semivowel is added to the prefix.

Noun stems may be consonant- or a-initial. All noun prefixes are basically vowel-final and some are also vowel-initial. Changes which occur when prefixes are added to stems or prefixes are covered by the following rules:

1) The initial vowel of a morpheme remains constant. The final vowel of any morpheme is liable to modification.

2) When any prefix precedes an a-initial stem, the final vowel of the preceding prefix occurs as follows:

a remains unchanged; u becomes uw; i becomes iy

Note that when any a-final prefix precedes the possessive prefixes angu *her* and aluŋa *their* (pl) the final vowel of the preceding prefix is lost.

3) All yi-initial possessive prefixes lose the initial y when another prefix precedes them, and they then occur as i-initial morphemes.

4) When any prefix precedes an i-initial morpheme, the final vowel of the preceding prefix is lost.

5) When a u-final prefix precedes a monosyllabic i-final prefix, the final u of the preceding prefix changes to i.

These rules are illustrated in the following examples:

ř a + aḍu → ř a-aḍu
(f:nuc) (*child*) *little girl*

na + alanjdji → na-alanjdji
(arb:nuc) (*camp*) *camp*

nuŋgu + alanjdji + lu → nuŋguw-alanjdji-lu
(arb:dir/acc) (*camp*) (dir) *to the camp*

nju + aḍu + wu → njuw-aḍu-wu
(m:non:nuc) (*child*) (ref) *for the boy*

nju + ŋaḏa + nju + aḍu + wu → nju-ŋaḏa-njuw-aḍu-wu
(m:ref) (*my*) (m:non:nuc) (*child*) (ref) *for my son*

li + alawa → liy-alawa
(pl:nuc) (*Alawa*) *the Alawa people*

dji + awaṛa + la → djiy-awaṛa-la
(masc:non:nuc) (*earth*) (acc) *on the ground*

ř a + yingu + ř a + wibi → ř-ingu-ř a-wibi
(f:nuc) (*your:s*) (f:nuc) (*mother*) *your* (s) *mother*

li + yimbalaŋa + li + baba → l-imbalaŋa-li-baba
(pl:nuc) (*your:d*) (pl:nuc) (*elder sibling*) *your* (d) *elder brothers and/or sisters*

linjdji + yigu + linjdji + aḍu + ŋga → linjdj-igu-linjdjiy-aḍu-ŋga
(pl:dir/acc) *(his)* (pl:dir/acc) *(child)* (acc) *with his children*

ři + yingu + ři + anjiṛa → ř-ingi-řiy-anjiṛa
(d:nuc) *(your:s)* (d:nuc) *(younger:sibling) your* (s) *(two) younger siblings*

li + yigu + li + aḍu → l-igi-liy-aḍu
(pl:nuc) *(his)* (pl:nuc) *(child) his children*

liyi + yigu + liyi + aḍu + wu → liy-igu-liyiy-aḍu-wu
(pl:ref) *(his)* (pl:ref) *(child)* (ref) *for his children*

li + aluŋa + li + waŋu → l-aluŋa-li-waŋu
(pl:nuc) *(their:pl)* (pl:nuc) *(spouse) their husbands, their wives*

ři + angu + ři + ŋanjdji → ř-angi-ři-ŋanjdji
(d:nuc) *(her)* (d:nuc) *(relative) her* (d) *relatives*

nja + angu + nja + biyi → nj-angu-nja-biyi
(m:nuc) *(her)* (m:nuc) *(father) her father*

nju + angu + nju + biyi + yu → nj-angu-nju-biyi-yu
(m:ref) *(her)* (m:non:nuc) *(father)* (ref) *for her father*

4. PERMISSIBLE SIMPLIFICATION OF NOUNS

In the previous sections, affixation has been described as it most frequently and most fully occurs in the various tagmemes. Sometimes certain prefixes of Types I and III nouns may be omitted or modified, leaving the suffix to carry the complete tagmeme-marking identification. In some instances tagmeme-marking suffixes are omitted. Although this feature is not extensive, it does occur with some of the most commonly occurring words. It is referred to by the language speakers as "short words" or "shortcut" speech. Such simplification is made by mothers in teaching the language to their children, but it is not restricted to this use. It may be that there is some pressure being exerted by continuing close contact and frequent intermarriage with the Garawa people, whose language is non-prefixing. It may be part of an independent change within the language itself, which would relate to the loss of prefixes from body-part nouns in non-Nuclear occurrence (see 2.2.2).

Simplification of Type I nouns involves non-nuclear affixation only, and most commonly occurs as the omission of the directive/accessory prefix from nouns of classes 5-7 (the three classes which distinguish more than Nuclear versus non-Nuclear contrast by prefixation):

nuŋguw-alanjdji-lu / alanjdji-lu — *to the camp* (Dir)

nuŋgu-wulaŋi-nda / wulaŋi-nda — *by the river* (Acc)

nuŋgu-gulgařa-la / gulgařa-la — *on the coolamon* (Acc)

nuŋgu-lawař-a / lawař-a — *in the hole* (Acc)

muŋgu-yulbu-nda / yulbu-nda — *with a rope* (Acc)

nuŋgaṇu-wuřama-lu / wuřama-lu — *to the fighting ground* (Dir)

In men's speech (see 5.1) there is simplification of nouns of classes 2 and 4 in non-Nuclear occurrence. The tagmeme-marking suffix may be omitted and the gi- prefix then alone marks non-Nuclear:

gi-malbu-ŋgu / gi-malbu — *to the old man* (Dir)

gi-waṛama-la / gi-waṛama — *in the flood* (Acc)

gi-miṇiŋiya-wu / gi-miṇiŋiya — *of the man* (Ref)

Simplification of Type III noun prefixation involves specifically the personal prefixes of class 10 (that class in which both first and third order prefixes are personal prefixes). Those nouns with which the dja- variant of first person singular occurs are not simplified.

There is most freedom in simplifying the prefixation of the subclass (c) stem -waŋu *spouse*. This is affected by the omission of the first order prefix, and/or by the omission of the third order female prefix in a Nuclear occurrence:

nj-angu-nja-waŋu / nj-angu-waŋu — *her husband* (Nuc)
(m- *her*-m -*spouse*) (m- *her-spouse*)

ř-igu-řa-waŋu / ř-igu-waŋu / yigu-waŋu — *his wife* (Nuc)
(f-*his*-f-*spouse*) (f-*his-spouse*) (*his-spouse*)

njuŋg-angu-nju-waŋu / njuŋg-angu-waŋu — *with her husband, to her husband*
(m: -*her* -m: -*spouse*) (m: -*her* -*spouse*) (Dir/Acc)
dir/acc non:nuc dir/acc

In subclasses (a) and (b) of class 10, simplification is effected by loss of the third order female, dual, or plural prefix from a Nuclear occurrence, or, more radically, by retaining nuclear prefixation when a non-nuclear suffix is added for occurrence in a non-Nuclear tagmeme:

ř-igu-řa-aḍu / yigu-řa-aḍu — *his daughter* (Nuc)
(f-*his*-f: -*child*) (*his*-f: -*child*)
nuc nuc

l-imbalaŋa-liy-anjiṛa / yimbalaŋa-liy-anjiṛa (Nuc)
(pl-*your*:d-pl:-*younger:* (*your*:d -pl:-*younger:*
nuc *sibling*) nuc *sibling*)
the (pl) *younger siblings of you two*

njuŋg-angu-nju-biyi-la / nj-angu-nja-biyi-la (Acc)
(m:dir-*her*-m:non:-*father*-acc)(m:-*her*-m: -*father*-acc)
/acc nuc nuc nuc
with her father

ŕuŋg-angu-ŕu-wibi-lu / ŕ-angu-ŕa-wibi-lu (Dir)
(f:dir-*her*-f:-*mother*-dir)(f-*her*-f:-*mother*-dir)
/acc non:nuc nuc
to her mother

ŕ-ingu-ŕuw-anjiṛa-wu / yingu-ŕa-anjiṛa-wu (Ref)
(f-*your*:-f:-*younger:sibling*-ref)(*your*:-f-*younger:sibling*-ref)
s non:nuc s nuc
for your younger sister

5. ANTHROPOLOGICAL CONDITIONING

In the whole social life of the Yanyula people there are two dominant forces which have influenced the language. One is the contrastive force of the male versus female distinction, and the other is the dominant influence of kinship relationship. The result of these forces acting on the language has been that prefix allomorphs, alternative vocabulary, and alloclasses have come into being. It is also likely that cultural factors underlie classification into the categories described in section 1 above.

5.1 *PREFIX ALLOMORPHS*

In men's speech there is a change in prefixation which involves the Type I male and masculine classes, classes 2 and 4, and the male prefixation which occurs with other noun types. The prefixes used for these two specific classes, and morphemes which agree with them, have distinctive variants from those occurring in women's speech. Just as the female and feminine classes bear close structural relationship in prefixation for all speakers, so there is a close structural relationship in prefixation for male and masculine classes for men speakers. In almost all instances prefixation for these two classes is identical, but a few morphemes reveal a recognised contrast.

Type I class-marking allomorphs are identical for both male and masculine classes: ∅- (nuclear), gi- (non-nuclear).

Nuc	maṛanjdja	(m-*dugong: hunter*)	buyuga	(masc-*fire*)
Ref	gi-maṛanjdja-wu		gi-buyuga-wu	
Dir	gi-maṛanjdja-lu		gi-buyuga-lu	
Acc	gi-maṛanjdja-la		gi-buyuga-la	

(See 2.2.1 above for prefixation of these same stems by a woman speaker.)

Type II body-part noun possessive prefix set has the allomorph na- for both male and masculine possession. This prefix occurs as: na- (nuclear), nuwa- (referent), nuŋga- (directive/accessory).

In the following examples the stem ŋuřu *nose* will be used. In the first column the stem will be affixed as by a male speaker for possession of both classes 2 and 4, and the other two columns will be affixed as by a woman speaker for each of those classes.

	M Classes 2 & 4	F Class 2	F Class 4
Nuc	na-ŋuřu	niwa-ŋuřu	ni-ŋuřu
Ref	nuwa-ŋuřu-wu	niyiwa-ŋuřu-wu	niyi-ŋuřu-wu
Dir	nuŋga-ŋuřu-ŋgu	niŋgiwa-ŋuřu-ŋgu	niŋgi-ŋuřu-ŋgu
Acc	nuŋga-ŋuřu-ŋga	niŋgiwa-ŋuřu-ŋga	niŋgi-ŋuřu-ŋga

It is interesting that a further less frequently occurring variant nula- is used by a male speaker in reference to the male class only. This prefix occurs as: nula- (nuclear), nuwalu- (referent), nuŋgalu- (directive/accessory). The stem ŋuřu *nose* may alternatively be prefixed for male possession as follows:

Nuc	na-ŋuřu / nula-ŋuřu	(*his*:m-*nose*)	*his nose*
Ref	nuwa-ŋuřu-wu / nuwalu-ŋuřu-wu		
Dir	nuŋga-ŋuřu-ŋgu / nuŋgalu-ŋuřu-ŋgu		
Acc	nuŋga-ŋuřu-ŋga / nuŋgalu-ŋuřu-ŋga		

Type III nouns of classes 10 and 11 have prefix allomorphs which occur when a male speaker refers to a male relative.

Class 10 prefixes which refer to male relatives vary in three ways from those in women's speech:

1) The variant set: ∅- (nuclear), gi- (non-nuclear) co-occurs with the subclass (b) prefix dja- *my*.

2) The first order male and masculine prefix set for all remaining class 10 stems is replaced by the single allomorph i-. It is noted, however, that the third order male prefix occurrence is identical with that in women's speech.

3) The class 10 possessive prefix for the masculine and male classes is yigu.

Nuc	M dja-baba	F nja-dja-baba	(m-*my-elder:sibling*) *my older brother*
Ref	gi-dja-baba-wu	nju-dja-baba-wu	
Dir	gi-dja-baba-lu	nju-dja-baba-lu	
Acc	gi-dja-baba-la	nju-dja-baba-la	
Nuc	M nj-ig-i-baba	F nj-igu-nja-baba	(m-*his*-m-*elder:sibling*) *his older brother*
Ref	nj-ig-i-baba-wu	nj-igu-nju-baba-wu	
Dir	njuŋg-ig-i-baba-lu	njuŋg-igu-nju-baba-lu	
Acc	njuŋg-ig-i-baba-la	njuŋg-igu-nju-baba-la	
Nuc	M nj-ang-i-waŋu	F nj-angu-nja-waŋu	(m-*her*-m-*spouse*) *her husband*
Ref	nj-ang-i-waŋu-wu	nj-angu-nju-waŋu-wu	
Dir, Acc	njuŋg-ang-i-waŋu	njuŋg-angu-nju-waŋu	

The final example above uses the class 10 subclass (c) stem which is the only class 10 stem to omit any tagmeme-marking suffixation for Directive and Accessory tagmemes.

Class 11 nouns take the allomorph set: ∅- (nuclear), nju- (non-nuclear).

Nuc	M gilu-muṛima	F nja-gilu-muṛima	(m-*his-son's:son*)
Non-Nuc	nju-gilu-muṛima	nju-gilu-muṛima	

Type IV class 14 men's personal names always take zero prefixation with male speaker usage.

5.2 *STEM ALLOMORPHS*

A comprehensive list of allostems occurs in avoidance speech which is used between speakers who are in avoidance kinship relationship. A male speaker uses allostems when speaking to tribal sisters, brothers-in-law, and mothers-in-law (with whom traditionally there is minimal verbal communication). A female speaker uses allostems when speaking to tribal brothers and sons-in-law. Allostems occur in various parts

of speech, including nouns of Types I, II, and III. Affixation of Types I and II nouns remains the same as for the basic stems in general speech.

Examples from each class will be given with nuclear affixation and with the stem occurring in general usage being given in brackets following the avoidance allostem:

Type I Nouns

Class 1: řa-guyadji (řa-baḍaḍa, řa-aḍu) *baby girl, girl,* řa-yibawunjařa (řa-n̲anawaya) *woman,* řa-mayaḍa (řa-baḍibaḍi) *old woman*

Class 2: nja-mařuṛul (nja-duwařa) *initiated boy,* nja-mayaḍa (nja-malbu) *old man,* nja-ŋamimi (nja-gabudjimi) *blind man*

Class 3: řa-yaba (řa-gamba) *sun,* řa-ŋalibagu (řa-wayuř) *blue-tongue lizard,* řa-libaliba (řa-muwaḍa) *canoe,* řa-djaŋgudjaŋgu (řa-malařuŋguřu) *female of a kangaroo species*

Class 4: wumayaŋga (buyuga) *fire,* l̲abaŋař (awaṛa) *earth* djidjaga (wunala) *animal,* wuṛuřu (aḷgu) *fish,* mimaṇu (l̲uwa) *snake,* bulurřulurřu (djajŋjga) *rock,* balaŋařa (ŋagaḷa) *moon,* ŋuṇuŋuṇu (yiliři) *blood*

Class 5: ma-wuŋgař (ma-ŋařa) *food,* ma-ŋudji (ma-djařabal, ma-yulbu) *strap, rope (of some fibruous material),* ma-bunili (ma-ṇayi) *lilyseed,* ma-wilwiřinjdja (ma-guḍiḍi) *pandanus nuts*

Class 6: na-wiyadji (na-l̲anu) *paper-bark type,* na-balaguř (na-alanjdji) *camp,* na-wuluŋgayaŋu (na-wabidja) *woman's digging stick,* na-mugugu (na-wun̲an) *breast, milk*

Class 7: naṇu-balařaŋga (naṇu-wařaŋin) *burrow in ground,* naṇu-wuŋuwařa (naṇu-yabi) *goodness, good words,* naṇu-laguř (naṇu-baṇḍař) *ground full of holes and burrows*

Type II Nouns

Class 8: ŋaṇa-mayamaya (ŋaṇa-maṇḍa) *my foot,* ŋaṇa-guyala (ŋaṇa-malidji) *my finger, hand,* nda-ŋuŋguṇi (nda-ŋuřu) *your* (s) *nose,* nanda-gabaṛa (nanda-mi) *her eyes,* nanda-ŋawugugu (nanda-wuḍu) *her stomach,* niwa-maḷagunjdja (niya-wi) *his arm,* ni-djaṛidjbuř (ni-yiřimbi) *its* (masc) *tail,* ni-banjdjařa (ni-waṇṇji) *its* (masc) *flesh,* nawula-yidiyidi (nawula-wulaya) *their* (d) *heads,* naḷu-wanal (nalu-wuna) *their* (pl) *buttocks*

5.3 *KINSHIP ALLOSTEMS AND ALLOCLASSES*

In the area of the language involving kinship allostems and allo-

classes, data has been limited in quantity and has only more recently been obtained. Analysis is therefore only tentative, but the available information is included as exemplifying a further part of the total pattern of Yanyula noun occurrence.

The alternative vocabulary of this section is substituted for nouns of Type III where certain specific kinship inter-relationships are involved. Some of the relationships are avoidance ones, and others focussed on by this vocabulary are significant in other ways. This alternative vocabulary has been referred to by a Yanyula informant as being sacred in that it is associated with the law of the tribe.

5.3.1 Kinship Allostems

Kinship allostems occur when a speaker refers to a third person's relative who is the speaker's uncle (mother's brother), or aunt (father's sister). Prefixation classifies these stems as being allostems of Type IIIB class 10 (see 1.3.2). The following examples are given with nuclear tagmeme-marking:

nj-angu-nja-wi̲laninja (m-*her*-m-*elder:brother*)
her elder brother (my uncle)

nja-wulaŋa-nja-ṉaṉaŋan̲damu (m-*their:*d-m-*father*)
their (d) *father (my uncle)*

ř-igu-řa-maṉ̣iya (f-*his*-f-*mother*)
his mother (my uncle's)

ř-angu-řa-aṉ̣iyaŋŋan̲da (f-*her*-f-*mother*)
her mother (my aunt)

5.3.2 Kinship Alloclasses

Three alloclasses are tentatively postulated on the basis of contrastive prefixation. In these alloclasses both the stems and prefixation are different from any of the Type III nouns for which they substitute. In all of these alloclasses there seems to be a three-way inter-relationship involving the speaker, hearer, and a third person who is the subject to whom the noun refers.

Alloclass 1

In alloclass 1 the prefix wa- occurs, to which the tentative meaning *your* (s) has been assigned. These allonouns occur where the third person subject is the speaker's uncle, or a male speaker's brother-in-law.

	wa-mimajgu	*your elder brother (my uncle)*
	wa-wi̲laninja	*your younger brother (my uncle)*
	wa-ṇaṇanja	*your father (my uncle)*
M	wa-ṇaŋgiři	*your father (my brother-in-law)*

It is noted that there is a relationship in form between certain alloclass 1 stems and the kinship allostems (see 5.3.1 above). The stem wi̲laninja occurs in both lists, and ṇaṇaŋa̲ndamu and ṇaṇanja may be related forms.

Alloclass 2

In alloclass 2 the prefix nda- *your* (s) occurs. In general noun occurrence this prefix is possessive for body-part nouns.

M	nda-wigiwiři	*your mother (my sister)*
F	nda-maŋgajgu	*your sister (my mother)*
	nda-aḍiya	*your mother (my father's sister)*

Alloclass 3

In alloclass 3 there is a personal prefix to indicate male or female. All speakers use řa- for a female relative. Women speakers use nja- and men speakers use dji- for a male relative. A greater variety of relationships is involved in this alloclass.

	řa-ŋguwiři	*your daughter's child (my wife)*
	řa-maŋgayiwiři	*your child (my daughter's child)*
	řa-wuřbu	*your sister (my daughter's child)*
F	nja-wuřbu	*your brother (my daughter's child)*
M	dji-wuřbu	*your brother (my daughter's child)*
	řa-wuguwu	*your mother's mother (my sister)*
F	nja-wuguwu	*your mother's mother's brother (my brother)*
F	nja-l̲amajŋjgu	*your mother's father or cousin (my brother)*
	řa-wuṛanjbiři	*your wife (my elder sister)*
F	nja-waŋaṛinja	*your husband (my elder sister's)*
F	nja-waŋulu	*her father (my younger brother)*

5.4 *BASIS OF STEM CLASSIFICATION*

In section 1 the distinctive class lists manifest a careful classifying of items. For the most part there is an apparent logic in

the occurrences, but in other instances the classification seems unaccountable. Dr. R.M.W. Dixon, in his recently published paper on noun classification,[12] presents evidence of an underlying logic in apparent exceptions. He has set up two rules which apply to "transfer" of class membership in Australian Aboriginal languages. He states that the irregular occurrence is in fact a purposeful class transference which either classifies according to mythological characteristics rather than currently observable ones, or which marks some "important property ... most often 'harmfulness'". Certain of his illustrations are valid for Yanyula (the author at present has a more limited knowledge of Yanyula mythology and it may well be that increased knowledge will reveal increased correlation), and a few further examples may be added.

In the feminine class a number of stems occur which have no apparent quality which would lead to a feminine classification. However, these nouns are spoken of as being "dreaming" female relatives of the people. Such nouns include: ř**a-maḍu** *cold wind, cold season,* ř**a-waṇbul** *frog species,* ř**a-waŋga** *crow,* ř**a-giljařgiljař** *eaglehawk,* ř**a-gaṇgaṇga** *fish hawk.*

Several representative items have been picked out from among those which seem to be erratically classified. These are the arboreal class nouns **na-walguřařa** *stinging jellyfish,* **na-wunan** *breast, milk,* the food class noun **ma-wundiři** *a boil,* the body-part nouns **nanda-wimbi** and **ni-wimbi** *bees (of feminine and masculine hives respectively),* and the oddly occurring noun **niwa-ṛagugu** *his penis* (which itself occurs normally with a male possessive prefix, but for which all morphemes which occur in agreement with it are food class morphemes[13]). It would have been anticipated that the jellyfish and bees would occur in either the masculine or feminine classes which include animate nonpersonal items, and that the remaining stems would have a regular occurrence in Type II body-part nouns; (**nda-bubu** *your* (**s**) *sore* would logically be accompanied by the stem for *boil*). Dixon's rules apply well to all these instances. The harmful jellyfish and boil, and the insects producing the focal dietary item, honey, have been displaced from more logical lists, and the distinguishing male and female body-parts have also undergone almost complete and complete transference respectively.

6. ADDITIONAL RESTRICTED AFFIXATION

The above sections describing noun affixation deal with those affixes which have a general occurrence. There are certain other affixes which

only occur with a restricted list of stems. These affixes are:

Nonplural Suffix: The two Type IA stems nanawa *woman* and miṇiŋu *man* are the only stems to occur with the nonplural suffix -ya / -iya. The suffix -ya obligatorily occurs with nanawa in the singular, but -iya obligatorily occurs with miṇiŋu in the singular and optionally in the dual. Singular, dual, and plural forms of these two nouns are:

s	nja-miṇiŋ-iya *man*	řa-nanawa-ya *woman*
d	ři-miṇiŋ-iya / ři-miṇiŋu	ři-nanawa
pl	li-miṇiŋu	li-nanawa

For these two noun stems the plural meaning is innate in the stem to the degree that, when otherwise singular male and female prefixes are affixed to them, the meaning remains plural. Therefore řa-nanawa means *women* (pl), and nja-miṇiŋu means *men* (pl), although the forms with the plural prefix li- occur with far greater frequency.

The full range of tagmeme-marking suffixes occur following the -ya / -iya suffix.

Dual Suffixes: The suffix -wudjaṛa (animate dual) provides an alternative or an accompanying method of dual marking for animate nouns of Types I and IIIC. The dual prefix ři- optionally co-occurs with the suffix -wudjaṛa when the stem is a personal noun:

aḍu-wudjaṛa / řiy-aḍu-wudjaṛa	*two children*
miṇiŋu-wudjaṛa / ři-miṇiŋu-wudjaṛa	*two men*
/ miṇiŋiya-wudjaṛa / ři-miṇiŋiya-wudjaṛa	
wagugu-wudjaṛa	*two dogs*
wiḍiḍi-wudjaṛa	*two young emus*
majgařa-wudjaṛa / ři-majgařa-wudjaṛa	*husband and wife*
ŋijŋjgařa-wudjaṛa / ři-ŋijŋjgařa-wudjaṛa	*two siblings*

When a stem is suffixed by -wudjaṛa, the only further suffixation known to co-occur is the referent suffix -wu, which then occurs in second order:

aḍu-wudjaṛa-wu (*child*-dual-ref) *for the two children*

Either -wudjaṛa (animate dual) or -gidja (kinship dual) may be suffixed to the familiar kinship nouns of Type IIIA. Stems suffixed by either of these morphemes have only been found in Nuclear tagmemes.

gudjaga-wudjaṛa	*two mothers*
mařuwařa-wudjaṛa	*two cousins*
mařuwařa-gidja	*two cousins*
baba-gidja	*two elder siblings*

Plural Suffix: The suffix -biři occurs with two Type I noun stems to indicate plurality of young animate beings. With the stem aḍu *child*, the plural prefix li- usually co-occurs with the suffix -biři but it need not do so. The suffix -biři is reduplicated when it occurs with waḍa *young animal, bird, insect.*

aḍu-biři / liy-aḍu-biři	*children*
waḍa-biři-biři	*young creatures* (nonpersonal)

A full range of suffixes occurs following the suffix -biři:

Nuc	liy-aḍu-biři	*children*
Ref	liyiy-aḍu-biři-yu	
Dir	linjdjiy-aḍu-biři-lu	
Acc	linjdjiy-aḍu-biři-la	

Limiter Prefix: A limiter prefix meaning *only* may occur with stems of Types I and II, taking the place of the Type I class-marking prefix and the Type II possessive prefix. In the examples available, stems prefixed in this way occur only in Nuclear tagmemes. Examples are listed below with the regular nuclear prefix occurrence in the first column and the limiter prefix occurrence in the second column:

ma-yulbu	*rope*	muluma-yulbu	*only rope*
nanda-maṇḍa	*her foot*	nulanda-maṇḍa	*only her foot*
niwa-ŋuřu	*his nose*	niliwa-ŋuřu	*only his nose*
ni-yalbuř	*its* (masc) *tail*	nili-yalbuř	*only its tail*

Suffix -ŋala: The suffix -ŋala occurs with tribal names to indicate *in .... language.* The suffixed stem occurs in Accompaniment/ Instrument tagmemes:

munaŋa-ŋala *in English,* yanjuwa-ŋala *in Yanyula,*

ařawa-ŋala *in Garawa,* mařa-ŋala *in Mara*

Suffix -ŋgu: This second order suffix -ŋgu occurs in a single instance with the stem wula *head* and the first order accessory suffix -la in the following Destination Relation phrase:

ŋjala	wula-la-ŋgu	*to the top of (his) head*
(unto	*head-on-to)*	

Descriptive Prefix: Type IA nouns occur with the Descriptive Subject pronominal prefix set[14] to form frozen clauses:

> ŋaṇa-aḍu *(I-child) I am/was a child,* nanda-baḍaḍa *(she-baby) she is/was a baby,* nawula-yalguyi *(they:d-young:man) they are/were young men*

7. STEM MORPHOLOGY

Noun stems most frequently occur as simple roots, but stems may be derived, and stems may occur in reduplicated form. Nouns modified in these ways frequently have a limited range of occurrence.

7.1 *DERIVED STEMS*

Class-marking prefixes are useful in deriving new nouns. These prefixes attach to various parts of speech, with or without the addition of a derivational suffix, to form new nouns.

Four derivational suffixes occur:

-widji: This is an attributive suffix, which attributes to the resultant stem the quality of the meaning of the root with which it occurs. The attributive suffix has four variants: -bidji follows n- or nj-final stems; -idji follows ř-, l-, or ḷ-final stems; -nbidji follows vowel-final stems which take set 8 tagmeme-marking suffixes; -widji follows other vowel-final stems.

-ŋu: This is a relator suffix which relates the form with which it occurs to a source, possessor, or goal.

-maṛa: This is an animate nominaliser, which derives an animate subject from an action which it performs.

-wu: This is an inanimate nominaliser which derives an inanimate subject from an action which it performs.

Nouns are derived as follows:

1) Change of class:

wangala (masc-*olden:time*)	→	nja-wangala (m-*olden:time*) *an olden time man*
ŕa-ŋadjaŕ (fem-*lightning*)	→	Ø-ŋadjaŕ (masc-*lightning*) *a gun*
djajŋjga (masc-*rock*)	→	ma-djajŋjga (fd-*rock*) *money*

(See also 1.1.2 class 7, above.)

ni-wi	(*its:*masc-*arm*)	*the wing (of a plane)*
ni-ŋuŕu	(*its:*masc-*nose*)	*the bonnet (of a car)*
ni-ŋunduwa	(*its:*masc-*throat*)	*the bodice (of a dress)*
nanu-mulu	(*its:*arb-*mouth*)	*door, gate*

2) Class-marker + adjective/numeral

ŕa-yabi	(f-*good*)	*a good woman*
nja-walguŕa	(m-*big*)	*a big man*
li-wuŋguwuŋgu	(pl-*black*)	*black people*
Ø-maḍu-maḍu	(masc-*cold-cold*)	*snow, refrigerator*
ma-bululu	(fd-*light*)	*bread*
ma-yumbu	(fd-*small*)	*a piece of food*
ma-ǎrgula	(fd-*one*)	*one piece of food*
ŕi-ganjmaḍa	(d-*two*)	*two people*

3) Class-marker + adjective + body-part stem

ŕa-waḍi-maṇḍa	(f-*bad-foot*)	*a lame woman*
nja-gabudji-mi	(m-*blind-eye*)	*a blind man*
ŕa-yabi-malidji	(f-*good-finger*)	*a deft-fingered woman*
li-muḍuw-anma	(pl-*deaf-ear*)	*the deaf people*

4) Class-marker + noun/adjective + -widji (attributive suffix)

ŕa-waḍi-widji	(f-*bad*-attr)	*a bad woman*
nja-djamuga-widji	(m-*beard*-attr)	*a bearded man*
ŕa-gundaṛuŕu-widji	(fem-*sail*-attr)	*a sailing boat*
li-gamugamu-widji	(pl-*liquor*-attr)	*the drunkards*

yalbuř-idji (*tail*-attr) *a shooting star*

nja-manga-nbidji (m-*body*-attr) *a sturdy boy*

nja-yiřinj-bidji (m-*feather*-attr) *a dancer decorated with feathers*

5) Class-marker + possessive pronoun + -ŋu (relator suffix)

m-ingu-ŋu (fd-*your:*s-rel) *your food*

l-ingu-ŋu (pl-*your:*s-rel) *your people*

6) Class-marker + temporal/locative/participle[15] + -ŋu (relator)

řa-gaṛiy-a-ŋu (f-*from-west*-rel) *the woman who came from the west*

ma-gaṛ-agařa-ŋu (fd-*from-east*-rel) *European food*

nja-ṛigařa-ŋu (m-*earlier:today*-rel) *the man who was here earlier today*

Ø-gaṛ-anga-ŋu (masc-*from-up*-rel) *(of clothing) a shirt*
(of fish) freshwater fish

ma-balabanda-ŋu (fd-*spreading*-rel) *jam*

7) Class-marker + participle ± -wu / -maṛa (nominalisers)

mayamanda	(masc-*mixing:up*)	*all different things*
wařmanda-wu	(masc-*blowing*-inanim)	*the wind*
widjuwanda-wu	(masc-*covering*-inanim)	*a blanket*
njamba-wuduřumanda-wu	(masc-reflexive-*feeding*-inanim)	*a meal*
li-ṛamanda-maṛa	(pl-*fighting*-anim)	*fighters, soldiers*
ři-waddjangaya-maṛa	(d-*fishing*-anim)	*two fishermen*
nja-wulumanda-maṛa	(m-*running*-anim)	*a runner*
nja-waŋanda-maṛa	(m-*hitting/shooting*-anim)	*a gunsman*

Derived nouns do not all have a full range of distribution into clause-level tagmemes. Those of 1) - 2) above consist of a class-marker plus a simple root (or in one instance, a reduplicated root). These nouns occur as regular nouns of their respective classes in Types I and II. The remaining stems of 3) - 7) above are complex stems which have a very limited distribution into clause-level tagmemes.

With a single exception, the remaining derived stems occur in Nuclear tagmemes only, and most occur in a single Nuclear tagmeme. The nouns of 6) above occur in all Nuclear tagmemes. The other derived stems from 3) - 5) and 7) occur in Descriptive Predicate tagmemes only. The exception from these complex stems is the Accompaniment/Instrument

occurrence of the noun **ma-balabanda-ŋu** (**fd-***spreading*-**rel**): **muŋgu-balabanda-ŋu** (**fd:dir/acc-***jam*) *with jam*. In the light of this occurrence, it seems quite possible that there is potential for a wider occurrence for other complex derived stems also, but current data provides no further evidence.

7.2 *REDUPLICATED STEMS*

Reduplication of stems occurs in Type I Yanyula nouns. There are reduplicated roots which only ever occur in this way to form the regular stem of certain nouns:

> **guřguř** *morepork*, **gulagula** *(my) child*, **řa-yilwiyilwi** *duck*, **ma-wudawuda** *stone spear-head*, **wuluwulu** *grinding stone*

However, stems may also be reduplicated, and when this occurs there is extension of meaning.

Reduplication may be partial or complete. In partial reduplication the first two syllables of a polysyllabic stem are reduplicated. The only phonological change noted in the process of reduplication of Type I nouns is with the stem **wuṇŋař** *smoke*, which becomes **wuṇŋař-guṇŋař** *smoky*.

When a stem is reduplicated, the class-marking prefix is lost, except that the plural prefix **li-** may optionally occur.

The meaning and tagmeme occurrence of reduplicated stems is different for animate and inanimate nouns. When Type IA personal nouns are reduplicated, plurality is indicated, whether or not the plural prefix **li-** co-occurs, and there may be an associated idea of all-inclusiveness. Animate nouns of Type IB are accompanied by a similar meaning but do not take the personal plural prefix **li-**.

li-wanga-wangala	*olden time people*
li-wuřu-wuřumbařa	*the young people*
yanjuwa-yanjuwa	*the Yanyula people*
maṛa-maṛanjdja	*dugong hunters*
ŋabaya-ŋabaya	*evil spirits*

Reduplicated polysyllabic stems occur in Nuclear tagmemes only. Only reduplicated disyllabic stems take the full set of tagmeme-marking suffixes, and this does not occur frequently:

Nuc	li-malbu-malbu	*the old men*
Ref	liyi-malbu-malbu-wu	
Dir	linjdji-malbu-malbu-ŋgu	
Acc	linjdji-malbu-malbu-ŋga	

It is noted that where reduplicated stems take tagmeme-marking suffixes, they occur with the same set of suffix allomorphs as the simple root.

When inanimate noun stems of Type IB are reduplicated, the resultant form denotes position in, at, on, by, and such nouns therefore occur in an Accessory Position tagmeme.

wumbuř-wumbuř	*on the plains*
yaba-yabala	*on the road*
wula-wulaŋi	*by the river*
djajŋjga-djajŋjga	*on the rocks*
munjdji-munjdji	*in the bush*
wiṇ:-wiṇinjma	*at the gum trees*

Reduplicated inanimate noun stems may also be used as descriptives:

wuṇŋař-guṇŋař	*smoky*
djajŋjga-djajŋjga	*stony*

8. DISTRIBUTION INTO CLAUSE-LEVEL TAGMEMES

Nouns occur in Subject, Object, Actor, Referent, Destination Relation, Accompaniment/Instrument, Position, Time, and Descriptive Predicate tagmemes. (See 2. above for definition.) Most noun classes have an extensive distribution into these tagmemes. A few classes have only limited distribution. No class occurs in all tagmemes.

Noun classes readily divide into two main groups. The first consists of classes 1-12, and it includes all common nouns, body-part nouns, and familiar and formal kinship nouns. The classes of this group have extensive occurrence. The second group consists of classes 13-15, and it includes group kinship nouns and proper nouns. Classes of this group have restricted occurrence.

8.1 *DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES 1-12*

There is a restriction on the noun classes which occur in Position

and Time tagmemes, but nouns from classes 1-12 occur in all the remaining tagmemes which have noun fillers. (Not every noun from every class occurs in each tagmeme necessarily, but some nouns from each class do.)

Only nonpersonal nouns of classes 3-7 occur in Position tagmemes.

Only a few stems from classes 3-5 occur in Time tagmemes:

ř**u-gamba-a**	(**fem:non:nuc-***sun***-acc**)	*in the daytime*
dji-wunduṛuř-a	(**masc:non:nuc-***night***-acc**)	*at night*
nu-wunbař-u	(**arb:ref-***night***-ref**)	*overnight*

8.2 *DISTRIBUTION OF CLASSES 13-15*

Classes 13 and 14 consist of group kinship nouns, personal names, and corroboree names. These nouns occur in Descriptive Predicate tagmemes only. Class 15 consists of place names and these also occur in Descriptive Predicate tagmemes, and additionally in Position and Destination Relation tagmemes.

NOTES

1. A change has been made by the author in the spelling of the language name from Anyula of the earlier papers, to Yanyula, to be in accord with usage in Government records.

The Yanyula people mainly live at or around Borroloola in the Northern Territory, but a small group is settled at Doomadgee Mission over the border in Queensland. This paper is written using data obtained during twenty-four months' field work at Borroloola, and eight months' field work at Doomadgee Mission during the years 1963 - 1969, under the auspices of the Summer Institute of Linguistics.

The author gratefully acknowledges the earlier advice of Miss Eunice Pike to take Yanyula women's speech as the basis for general description and to S.I.L. consultants for editorial advice. She has also been grateful to S.A. Wurm for his inadvertent encouragement in the comment made several years ago: "Yanyula is a wild language!"

The author also gratefully acknowledges the help of a concordance of approximately 19,000 words of Yanyula text compiled by the IBM 1410 computer at the University of Oklahoma by the Linguistic Information Retrieval Project of the Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Oklahoma Research Institute, and sponsored by Grant GS-934 of the National Science Foundation.

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2. The concept of language as a hierarchical structure which may be analysed is taken from Kenneth L. Pike (1967).

It is noted that Yanyula clause-level analysis is still in process at this time.

3. There have been changes in noun classification since earlier papers were published. Classes 1 and 3 were earlier considered to be a single feminine class. Classes 4, 5, and 6 were earlier named "neuter, plant-derived, tree-derived" respectively, before more careful analysis of semantic categories was undertaken.

4. It is noted that in the speech of some, a- is the most frequently occurring variant of this morpheme, but it has seemed to the author that ř**a**- is the identifying prefix.

5. Spirits are designated as animate beings because it seems that this is how the Yanyula themselves view them.

6. The following two phonemes have not been described in *Anyula Phonology* (1967): /jg/ and /jŋ/ are palato-velars.

7. The Yanyula words for ground and tree beehives have been placed in a separate section from other foods, because of the particular strength of the accompanying male and female connotation, and because of the feminine classification of the beeswax with the feminine hive from which it comes. The hives are spoken of as "boy one" and "girl one", and the bees are literally named "his-bee" and "her-bee" with the identical stem for "bee" occurring with both.

8. **ø** is used as a device to indicate a zero morpheme occurrence in examples where 1) a specific class-marker prefix is signalled in this way, and 2) a specific tagmeme-marker suffix is signalled in this way.

9. Aboriginal kinship terms have a different range of meaning from the English words by which they are most readily translated. For example, *mother* not only denotes one's own mother and all her sisters, but also every other woman in the tribe who shares the same *skin group*. The children of any member of that group become one's *brothers* and *sisters*. It is only mother's brother's children who are *cousins*. This different range of meaning must be borne in mind throughout sections dealing with Type III nouns.

10. When *Anyula Person Pronouns* (1964) was written, a single class 10 kinship noun was then identified as a phrase consisting of a free possessive pronoun and a kinship noun. Since then, both phonological and morphological evidence have led to recognition of a single, though complex, word.

11. Non-Transitive Subject occurs as subject of Intransitive, Locative, Descriptive, Existential, and Reflexive clauses. It is noted that nouns occur without suffixation in the sentence-level Vocative tagmeme.

12. See Dixon (1968).

13. This may be illustrated by two utterances. On one occasion a speaker touched two small naked boys on the genitals and said, **maṇadj-awu gulu maṇadj-awu** (*here-it:food:*class and *here-it:food:*class) *Here it is and here it is.* When the author was checking on the word for penis because of this odd occurrence, the word was given and then the informant asked: **gu-yibaŕa-nu badj-awu?** (*it:food:*class:*you-write:down-near:*past *there-it:food:*class) *You wrote (penis) down there?*

14. Cf. class 8 possessive prefixes, Set I (see chart 4).

15. For the sake of simplicity, participles are treated as stems in this paper. In fact, each participle consists of a verb stem and the suffix {-nda} (-nda ∿ -njdja ∿ -ya).

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